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The Shape of Things

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WARSAW, LIKE PARIS IN 1870, IS GALLANTLY holding out against the German invaders. The first heroes of this Second World War are the anonymous masses of the doomed Polish capital and their courageous mayor. Abandoned by the colonels who could rule Poland but not defend it, given nothing but verbal encouragement by their Franco-British allies, short of ammunition and subjected to horrible bombardment, Warsaw is still unconquered after nineteen days of siege. Walter Lippmann, commenting on the report that the city's resistance is being conducted by a Socialist emergency government, suggests the possibility "that the defenders of Warsaw have been waiting for the Russians to arrive." If the Polish capital evokes memories of the Paris Commune from which Marx drew lessons later applied in the Bolshevik Revolution, there is historic irony in the cooperation between Marx's Russian followers and the besiegers of Warsaw. Guido Enderis reports to the New York *Times* from Berlin that Warsaw may be turned over by agreement to the Russians. Budapest claims that the Red Army is avoiding any participation in the siege of Warsaw and that the city's defenders feel insured against attack by it and are throwing all their strength against the Germans.

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WAR TEMPO IS SPEEDING UP IN THE WEST and in the east. As we go to press, Soviet troops are massed on the Estonian frontier, and one hundred Red Army divisions are reported advancing toward Rumania's Bessarabian frontier. The border has been closed. The British announce that they have dropped 22,000,000 leaflets on Germany, and the guns of the Maginot line and Westwall are pounding away at each other along an eighty-mile front that had been almost as peaceful as a picnic since the war began. The Allies are accusing the Germans of preparing to violate the neutrality of Switzerland and Belgium in order to outflank the Maginot line, and the Germans are accusing the Allies of preparing to violate the neutrality of Switzerland and Belgium in order to outflank the Siegfried line. Each side claims that its mobilizations along the Swiss and Belgian borders are purely precautionary and defensive. Although Goebbels

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has declared on his honor that the Germans will not go through these neutral states, that is not the only reason to believe that the Nazis may be lying. The Allies can fight a defensive war. Hitler's only hope is a quick offensive. No quick offensive is possible without an attack through unfortified neighboring states.

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THE SMALL BALTIC STATES, WHICH HAVE led a precarious existence between the mutual hostilities of Germany and Russia, are beset with dangers now that those two great powers have come together. Are they marked down for early "liberation" by the Red Army, which now surrounds them, or if they are permitted independence, what will be the price? It is well known that Russia has long been dissatisfied with its cramped approach to the Baltic and would like to have an ice-free naval base. So far no definite indications of action in this region have come from Moscow, but there have been ominous portents. The escape of a Polish submarine from internment at Tallinn, capital of Estonia, was followed by a threatening communiqué in the Soviet press and reports of "measures" by the Soviet navy to prevent further incidents of the kind. Now the Estonian Foreign Minister, Karl Selter, who went to Moscow for the purpose, it was said, of negotiating a commercial agreement, has rushed back to Tallinn without explanation. There are rumors of political demands on the small republic, including some kind of control of the fortified islands of Dagoe and Oesel, which command the entrance to the Gulf of Finland. The Neva River, which flows through Leningrad, is being closed to Finnish shipping under an agreement which gave Russia the right to take such action in case of "war danger." Troop concentrations and hasty fortifications along the Soviet border have been reported. Perhaps the fears these preparations indicate have no foundation and the Soviets will honor the non-aggression pacts they have signed with all the Baltic states. But if Stalin wants to claim the Baltic heritage of the Czars, there is little now to stop him.

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THE PLEA FOR PEACE WITH WHICH IL DUCE broke his prolonged silence was more than a friendly gesture of support for German political strategy; it was, despite all the stout words which embodied it, a cry of anguish expressing the horrid dilemma of a fence-sitting dictator. It is difficult for Mussolini to stay out of the war, but it is dangerous for him to get in with the mood of the Italian people so clearly opposed to fighting for Germany. If the war is fought to a finish and Hitler wins, there will be scanty pickings for a tepid friend. On the other hand, if the Allies are victorious and Hitler is overthrown, the survival value of Mussolini's dictatorship will be slight indeed. His one hope, therefore, of deriving a profit from the situation lies in a peace made now on the basis suggested by Hitler in his Danzig speech. Such a peace would leave the Allies weak and dispirited and form a promising background for an early renewal of Italy's Mediterranean demands. Unhappily for Il Duce, the response of both France and Britain to his suggestions has been flatly negative. The "peace offensive" seems, indeed, to have failed before it was properly launched, and although Berlin will keep on trying, it will be chiefly in the hope of convincing the German people that Britain is the real aggressor. Meanwhile Mussolini has a new cause for worry in the advance of the Red Army to the edge of the Balkans and the sudden recrudescence of Russian influence in an area which he had marked out for his own. The reduction of the Italian garrison in the Dodecanese Islands suggests he has found it advisable to make a friendly gesture to Turkey, owing to that country's close association with Russia, and at the same time to offer Britain visible proof that his neutrality will be maintained.

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THE DEATH IN BATTLE OF A TOP-FLIGHT general is so rare an occurrence in modern war that the end of General Werner von Fritsch will inevitably arouse skepticism. It is true that this former commander-in-chief of the German army was serving in a comparatively subordinate capacity. The communiqué which tells of his death says that it occurred while he was "carrying out a dangerous reconnoitering operation" and speaks of him as "chief of artillery regiment number 12." This hardly dispels the mystery. Artillery regiments are not normally in the forefront of a battle, nor are advance reconnaissances among the usual duties of the commanding officers of such units. The explanation may be that von Fritsch, bitter at his demotion from the direction of the army he had done so much to create, sought out a post of danger and welcomed the releasing bullet; or perhaps the order which sent him to his death was akin to that which King David gave to Uriah the Hittite. Yet another possibility is that the official report was designed to conceal from the army, with which he was very popular, the true facts about the General's death. In view of the complete antithesis between the soldier—a conservative, an aristocrat, and a devout Lutheran—and the upstart dictator, and remembering the long-standing feud between them, one cannot dismiss as entirely fantastic the theory that von Fritsch has been "liquidated."

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THE WAR DRAMA ON THE WESTERN FRONT is failing to provide enough action to please some safely situated critics in the American row of the stalls. Senator Borah has asserted that "there is something phony about this war," and a number of military "ex-

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perts" of a few weeks' standing appear to agree with him. Among the complaints against the Western powers are their failure to send a large air fleet to Poland, their reliance on leaflets instead of bombs in raids on Germany, and their unwillingness to launch an immediate full-blown offensive against the Westwall. Reinforcement of Polish air strength would have meant the dispatch of a large number of long-range bombers without the assurance of adequate ground forces for their service and without the protection of fighting squadrons. The Allies have not yet caught up with Germany in the manufacture of planes and at this early stage in the war cannot afford to dissipate their air forces. Reluctance to start bombing military objectives behind the German lines is also understandable. Such bombings must inevitably cause civilian casualties and produce an adverse effect in neutral countries. Moreover, they would almost certainly increase rather than diminish the strength of Hitler's domestic position. The decisive factor in this war may well be the undermining of German morale, and so long as the Nazis refrain from aerial warfare leaflets may do more good to the Allied cause than bombs. Finally, military strategists of experience rejoice that the French army is not repeating the dashing and dangerous tactics with which it entered the last war. To have hurled all available troops against the German lines in an effort to make a quick break through would have been to court disastrous defeat. In modern warfare patient organization, dull as it may seem, is the essence of strategy when the strength of opposing forces is evenly divided.

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THE COMMON INTEREST OF THE AMERICAN republics was never more evident than in the Pan-American Conference on Neutrality which opened last week in Panama City. Despite intensive Nazi propaganda accusing the United States of desiring to establish protectorates over them, the Latin American countries appear to be convinced that Germany is the main source of danger in this hemisphere. Plans for the defense of the neutrality of the Americas are being framed on this unstated assumption. The most spectacular proposal, said to have met wide support among the delegates, calls for the creation of a 300-mile-wide "area of primary defense" around the Western Hemisphere in which all belligerent activities—notably submarine warfare—would be prohibited. Schemes have also been suggested for a joint naval patrol of South Atlantic and South Pacific waters. Trade problems growing out of the disruption of European markets are likewise on the agenda. The occasion is one of great opportunity and greater responsibility for the United States. If this country is prepared to aid in the defense of the Latin American republics and to tide them over the period of economic dislocation caused by the outbreak of war, it will be in a position to expand its trade materially. And in the process it will be strengthening the defenses of the Western Hemisphere against the inroads of totalitarianism.

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WITH ORGANIZED MINORITIES DELUGING Congress with letters in opposition to lifting the arms embargo, the unorganized majority had better get busy and do some letter-writing of its own. We do not often urge our readers to write or wire their Congressmen and Senators, but we think there is grave danger that pressure groups for the embargo may do serious damage unless general opinion makes itself felt. The best way to keep America out of war is to hasten a Franco-British victory by selling arms to the Allies. The letters expressing a contrary opinion seem to be coming largely from organized peace groups and the pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi elements led by Father Coughlin. That Berlin is taking a hand directly or indirectly seems clear. On the other hand, the peace organizations under Communist influence which could have been counted on a few weeks ago to fight for lifting the embargo have gone "dead" on the issue under the influence of the Russo-German pact and the Communist Party's new "imperialist war" line. It is still a war against fascism, despite Mr. Chamberlain, and anti-fascists should urge repeal of the embargo.

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THE STRIKE OF AMERICAN SEAMEN FOR special compensation for duty in war zones has been settled, temporarily, by a partial granting of the strikers' demands. Among the requests granted were a 25 per cent increase in pay, a $150 allowance for clothing and other personal effects lost as a result of the war, and continuing pay in case of internment by a belligerent nation. No action was taken on the seamen's request for a special monthly war bonus or the protection of war-risk insurance. The government's role in the strike was anything but a happy one. Captain George Fried, supervising inspector of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, allowed actions to be brought, under federal statutes, charging the strikers with "unlawfully disobeying the commands of their captain," an offense punishable by suspension or cancelation of their sailing certificates. Although the charges were "ended" as part of the settlement, the incident is bound to leave a permanent scar on waterfront relationships. Nor is the settlement likely to be a lasting one. The extra pay can hardly be considered adequate compensation for the risks these men are called on to take. Should a few American ships be sunk by submarines, the dispute would arise again in aggravated form. Early passage of the revised neutrality law barring American ships from belligerent zones would ease the situation, but it would be unsafe to assume that submarines will confine themselves to zones laid down in an American law.

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WHEN THE FEDERAL ART PROJECTS WERE thrown upon the mercy of local sponsorship, there were sorrowful predictions that this was a first step toward the liquidation of the genuine value of these projects. The process seems to be well under way in New York City. The United American Artists point out that in spite of an understanding that judgment as to the qualification of artists would remain in the hands of the Federal Art Project, regular WPA officials without any special competence in the arts are passing on the skill of applicants. According to one rule set up by Colonel Somervell's administration, painters and sculptors will not be rated as "artists" unless they can prove five years of formal schooling, five years with an art agency, and eight years of professional experience. It is doubtful whether many of the accomplished artists whom the Federal Art Project was instrumental in discovering or having recognized could pass all these tests—the younger ones would be ruled out by the mere years of study and performance required. On the other hand it is reported that although many of the arts workers fired because of the eighteen months' clause have been certified for relief and are therefore eligible to apply for jobs on the project, the Somervell administration will not honor requests for specific individuals, but insists on blanket requisitions which are filled without regard to special training or experience. We are told that artists are sometimes asked to prove, in thirty minutes, that they can turn out a mural or a sculpture, and some of the case histories of applicants and the treatment they receive read like burlesques of genuine attempts to establish their eligibility for jobs. The Federal Art Project has done some excellent work. Now that its funds have been curtailed, the principles and standards on which it was organized and which brought such good results should at least be maintained.

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SIGMUND FREUD DIED AT THE AGE OF eighty-three in England, where he was forced to spend the last year of his life as an exile from Vienna. The news of his death was not less saddening because it came over the air with the thousand-fold death messages of the war. The listener could not but feel that one of the greatest spirits of a slowly emerging new world had closed his eyes at the moment when its atavistic enemies were set on destroying it. That an exceptional life had been lived fully—though its natural end was hastened by Hitler's march into Austria and its cruel consequences—is some consolation. Sigmund Freud's career was one long demonstration of courage in the service of truth; and there is solace in the knowledge that his work, which freed the human mind of many of its most crippling taboos, will live on when the high priest of barbarism has long since perished.

War in Washington

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE western front has moved, temporarily, to Washington, and nothing is quiet there. This week the isolationists, few in number but vocal and backed by energetic if mixed cohorts, are opposing a majority determined to put through a bill designed to lift the embargo against shipments of arms to belligerents, prohibit the carrying of goods in American bottoms, and require that purchases of war supplies be made for cash or on the basis of short-term commercial credits. The debate will be rhetorical, long-winded, and noisy. The flood of mail that has swamped Senators and Representatives may create an impression of popular support for the embargo, even though a substantial proportion of the letters come from obedient followers of Coughlin, Kuhn, and W. R. Hearst. But after the votes are counted, it will be found, I believe, that the will of the Administration has been made law.

Some people fear the effect of this legislative free-for-all on the "national unity" we are supposed to display in a period of tension. I disagree. Unity is of the heart or it is nothing. Isolationists are citizens like the rest of us. Congress should battle through its differences on national policy, and every group should have its say; then the result, whatever it may be, will have the genuine strength that comes from popular support. In any case let us not worry too much about what the Nazis may deduce from our democratic wranglings. That is our way of doing our public business, and the day we give it up in favor of any artificial or forced appearance of unity will be the day of real victory for Hitler.

A much more disturbing feature of the struggle is its air of unreality. As long as fear and official propriety inhibit the President and the Representatives from talking openly about the only valid issue, so long will the debate sound like rhetorical shadow-boxing. Isolationists and anti-isolationists mutually oppose war, mutually give lip-service to neutrality and the dictates of international law. They cannot wage a genuine fight over whether an embargo against arms but not against other war supplies is a necessary corollary to those positions. Their real point of difference is on the question of American support, by all measures short of war, for the armies of the Western powers. This issue will emerge now and then from under the legalisms and the oratory. But I wish it could be made the focus of debate.

I sometimes wonder what isolationist Senators and Representatives think about the war and the world that will emerge from it. The United States must continue to live in that world; and today in Washington our legislators are helping to decide what kind of place it will be. When Senator Borah talks about a "phony" war and

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contemplates with democratic disgust the intrenched power of the British Empire, does he also consider the sort of Nazi empire that will succeed it if the British are defeated? When he criticizes the shortsighted, reactionary policy of the Chamberlain government, does he compare that government with the Nazi regime or the lot of the British subject with that of a follower of the Führer? When he considers, if he ever does, the results of a possible Nazi victory, does he imagine that the United States can insulate itself against the influence of a Western world dominated by Nazi ideas and Nazi force—in which the political and social habits that make up the democratic way of life have been crushed out of existence as they have been in Austria and Czechoslovakia and now, under a rain of bombs, in Poland?

I know well enough that the Western allies may win and then make a bad peace. But they need not do so. In both France and England thousands of men and women are determined to bring about a peace that will create no more Hitlers. Perhaps they will fail; but they will try, and they have both good-will and numbers on their side. Their position is put clearly on another page in an article by Harold Laski. The task they have set themselves must be backed by liberals and democrats in every country. In issues to come *The Nation* will discuss a wide range of proposals for the next peace—especially those put forward by British labor. But before liberals can win the peace, the Western powers must win the war. That is the issue behind the oratory in Congress.

Dictators at Work

THE future of Russo-German relations is a no man's land into which the prophet ventures at his own risk. More than one seer has been blown to bits, and most of us are already shell-shocked. "Danger—Dictators at Work" is the warning of recent events, and perhaps one is safe only in expecting the unexpected. We suggest, nevertheless, that three points of reference may be useful in finding one's way around in the flood of propaganda and the trickle of news on Russia's intentions. The first is that Turkey is the keyhole to Moscow, and that what Turkey does, particularly in its dealings with Britain and France, will be the best indication of what the U. S. S. R. intends to do. The second is that most of the dispatches purporting to explain Russian policy are coming from Berlin and London rather than Moscow and should be read in the light of what the two warring capitals want the world to believe. Cables from Berlin give the impression that Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia are very friendly. The correspondence from London —Sir Philip Gibbs and Augur, both British propagandists, are examples—picture Hitler as Stalin's dupe. As for Moscow, it is playing the cards close to its chest. The Kremlin doesn't seem to care what the world thinks.

Our third suggestion is that it is wise to estimate Russian policy as one would the policy of any other country, on the basis of its own interests and the interests of the men who constitute its government. Russian military strategy is still determined by Russian geography, and the geography remains the same under communism as under czarism. Whatever one may think of the Stalin dictatorship, it remains a revolutionary force just as France remained a revolutionary force even under Napoleon. Revolutionary ideology will be used now as then as a means of aggrandizement abroad and inspiration at home; and where revolution does break out, the Comintern will make sure that it is led and controlled by Communists of the orthodox Stalinist variety, lest it encourage opposition elements within the Soviet Union. The revolutionary factor is likely to prove especially potent among the land-hungry peasants of the Balkans. The Nazis reached them with propaganda for division of the large estates; the Russians are actually dividing the estates in the Ukraine and in White Russia, on the very border of East Prussia. The East Prussian Junkers helped bring Hitler to power; he has brought Bolshevism to their doorstep.

If one studies the events of the past week in Eastern Europe not in the light of morality or sentiment but on the hard-boiled basis of power politics, the situation begins to make sense. One is forced to conclude that Stalin is playing a lone hand, that his peculiar kind of "non-aggression" in this peculiar war may prove the Führer's greatest danger, and that Stalin has already won the first round. The sudden truce with Japan and the mobilization of 4,000,000 men on Russia's unmolested western front seems less puzzling in view of the generous portion of Poland ceded the Soviets by Berlin. The Russians, by obtaining the whole of the Polish Ukraine, have taken from Germany the fulcrum with which it hoped to pry loose the Russian Ukraine. Their new territory separates all of Rumania and most of the Hungarian-held Carpatho-Ukraine from the Reich. In cutting off Rumania it establishes a barrier against Germany's expansion through that country to the Black Sea. Hitler has opened to Stalin the door into the heart of Germany's own natural economic and geographic *Lebensraum,* and the haste with which Hungary and Yugoslavia are patching up diplomatic relations with Moscow attest it. As we go to press, the Turkish Foreign Minister has just arrived in the U. S. S. R., and the outcome of his visit will be of the greatest significance. Berlin has reported that Russia threatened to occupy the Dardanelles unless Ankara broke off its pact with London and Paris. But the news from Turkey seems more plausible. It is that Russia did not object to Turkey's mutual-assistance pact with Britain and France so long as it was confined to the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean. Turkey

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is linked with Yugoslavia, Greece, and Rumania in the Balkan Entente. An attack on any one of these four countries by Germany or Italy would presumably bring the others in, and Britain and France would be obligated to assist Turkey, as would the Soviet Union. But Turkey would not be obligated to assist Britain and France so long as the war was confined to the west. It is natural to conclude that Stalin sees the mutual-assistance pact between Turkey and the Allies as additional support for a neutral bloc in the Balkans under Russian influence. In this context the assassination of the anti-Nazi Rumanian Premier Calinescu seems the last desperate flare-up of the Hitler-subsidized Iron Guard in Rumania.

But if the new Russian territory between Rumania and the Reich is a bulwark against Germany's expansion to the southeast, it also serves another purpose. Hitler obtained a price for the Polish cessions to Stalin. The Allies cannot strike through Rumania at the Reich's backdoor without crossing Russian territory. Thus a "neutral" Balkan region under Soviet hegemony serves the same purpose as a "neutral" Italy. The Reich in either case has a source of supply without the need to defend additional borders or to prop up incompetent and unreliable allies as in 1914-18. The Führer has reduced his commitments to a minimum and, no longer fearing "war on two fronts," is staking everything on a *Blitzkrieg* in the west. Should he win that, he will settle accounts with Russia later. Hitler's power to strike at the west has been enormously strengthened by his deal with Stalin, whatever its ultimate effect may be.

Japan Mends the Axis

IF WE are to judge by the events of the past fortnight, the new Japanese government has abandoned hope of patching up affairs with the Western powers and has returned to the axis. The reversal in policy has been almost as sudden as that following the signing of the Soviet-German pact. Only about three weeks ago it was announced that the Japanese military mission under General Count Terauchi which had been sent to the Nürnberg Congress, presumably to conclude a military pact between Germany and Japan, had been instructed to cancel its visit to the Reich. Last week it unexpectedly appeared in Berlin, accompanied by Italian army officers, and was given a rousing welcome. Almost simultaneously a resolution was adopted by the Japan Bar Association declaring that the presence of British and French troops in the Shanghai, Tientsin, and Amoy concessions was in conflict with Japanese neutrality. And at about the same time the Japanese press began a concerted attack on Great Britain and the United States, warning this country that the imposition of an embargo on war materials would create a "war crisis" in the Pacific. The threats were the strongest that had been directed against the United States since the beginning of the Japanese invasion of China. While they may be discounted to some extent as attempts to justify another substantial increase in the Japanese naval budget, they can scarcely be reconciled with recent bids for American friendship.

Great Britain and France are undoubtedly in a vulnerable position in China. With their naval and land forces concentrated in Europe, they could not possibly hold Shanghai or Tientsin against a Japanese attack. Britain might even have to yield Hongkong and retreat to its Singapore base. But it happens that the United States is also deeply involved in the Shanghai and Tientsin concessions. Both cities contain detachments of American soldiers. Despite the recent violent attacks on American policy, it is doubtful whether Japan wishes to run the risk of open conflict with this country.

Moreover, the policies of the Abe government apparently differ from those of its predecessor in that it has rediscovered China. It seems determined to crush Chiang Kai-chek before resorting to open military action against the West. And in this it is aided by the truce along the Mongolian-Manchurian border, even though China has been promised that Soviet assistance will continue. A large-scale offensive has already been launched against Changsha—the first important military operation to be undertaken against China since the capture of Nanchang last March.

At the same time the Japanese have resumed efforts to form at Nanking a unified puppet government amalgamating the present Peiping, Hankow, Canton, and Hainan local regimes. Whether this can be achieved is still an open question. The probable leader of such a government, Wang Ching-wei, is so discredited among Chinese that he may be a liability rather than an asset to the Japanese. Furthermore, the leaders of the local puppet governments have such a stake in maintaining the status quo that they have thus far successfully sabotaged all efforts to set up unified rule. The possibility of overcoming these obstacles is closely linked with the success or failure of Japanese arms. And such triumphs as Japan has achieved to date in Kiangsi have been fully offset by China's victory in northern Honan, where the important town of Lanfeng was recaptured from the Japanese.

China seems to have made good use of the breathing spell granted it while the Japanese sought larger game. But its defense will unquestionably be hampered by the shutting off of supplies from the European belligerents. This leaves the United States holding the key. At the moment this country is rendering far more economic aid to Japan than to China. A reversal of this situation through an embargo on the shipment of war supplies to Japan might not only save China from further invasion but ease the growing task of protecting our legitimate interests from axis aggression.

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Senatorial Follies of 1939

BY KENNETH G. CRAWFORD

Washington, September 25

THE Senate is putting on one of its big productions. The rehearsals are over, and by the time this appears in print the curtain will have risen on the opening tableau. Everyone is letter perfect in his part; there will be no ad libbing. It will be a great show, and the advance publicity has assured a long run. It will be important in the same way that the late Flo Ziegfeld's shows were important—as a tribute to the American genius for lighting effects.

There have been disagreements about the script, but all these have been resolved. Democracy as it now operates—through the Gallup poll—has asserted itself. Everybody knows what the public wants and everyone is ready to deliver.

Hiram Johnson, as usual, will impersonate Hiram Johnson. That fine old trouper will bare his breast, defy the lightning, and deliver the speech about keeping out of war even if it means death by torture for Hiram Johnson. Borah will play Borah. Bob La Follette and Bennett Clark will impersonate their fathers. The President's followers will hate "wah" with as much vehemence as the isolationists. They will call the opposing faction Hitlerites and Coughlinites. Before it is over, the newspapers will report that nerves are frayed, tempers short, and everyone emotionally exhausted.

It is all over but the orating. The President has agreed to a rigid cash-and-carry provision in the revised neutrality law. He entered into this agreement reluctantly, and even when he delivered his opening address to Congress he hoped for latitude to permit delivery of war materials in American ships, to allow Americans to travel on belligerent ships, and to sanction extension of war credits—always at the risk of the individual. This was implicit in his speech. But Senate leaders rebelled, pointing out that an at-your-own-risk policy would be essentially the same as Wilson's neutrality. The President became convinced that the kind of elbow room he wanted was not to be had. Having learned the lesson of the court-reform fight, he compromised while he could.

Senator La Follette

By last week-end, therefore, spokesmen for the Senate and the White House had reached an agreement on all the essentials of the new law except the arms embargo. By mutual consent the relatively unimportant question whether arms and ammunition are to be sold to belligerents was left unanswered. A decision on this point would have left no excuse for dramatics. But anyone who thinks that war or peace for the United States depends upon taking or refusing orders for ammunition and guns is deluding himself.

The neutrality issue has been sliced so thin that it is almost meaningless. Each side has taken up its position on a postage stamp. The larger questions have been ruled out of order.

The Gallup poll last Sunday showed that an overwhelming majority of Americans sympathize with Great Britain and France and want to supply them with materials, including armaments. It also showed that a majority, remembering the experience of the last war, want to sell these materials for cash and to keep American ships and citizens out of the line of European fire. Members of the Senate, most of whom are no dopes, already had figured out that this was how public opinion lined up. Accordingly, they had taken positions for or against lifting the embargo on ammunition and implements of war. A majority were against the embargo. A minority, most of whom by that time were irrevocably committed, agreed to the policy of selling everything Great Britain and France could pay for and carry away except arms and ammunition. They figured that dissent on one detail would mark them as brave men and, in the long run, would be forgiven by their constituents.

No one in the Senate, as of today, has had the nerve to stand up and advocate real isolation from Europe's difficulties. No one has said that the United States should forswear all war trade and look to its unexploited home market for expansion. Nobody has been brave enough to suggest legislation to control war profiteering except Representative Jerry Voorhis of California, who has announced his intention of introducing a bill to lay an 80 per cent tax on abnormal profits. His bill, of course, will get nowhere.

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When Congressional leaders arrived in Washington in advance of the special session, along with Alf Landon and Colonel Frank Knox, to plan for national unity, they found the President eager for a blank check on foreign affairs. They were willing to get together but not on the President's terms. The result was that the isolationists won their principal point. The President receded from his give-me-a-free-hand position. When this happened, the real fight was over. What remained was the sound and the fury. This might have been disposed of in short order but for the prompt action of the concessionaires in billing sideshow attractions.

Father Coughlin got in on the ground floor with an isolationist mail barrage, a marvel which immediately transcended the burlesque performance he had put on in connection with the first government-reorganization debate. Then came Colonel Lindbergh, who could advise the country that the Atlantic is a broad ocean because he had flown it; Henry Ford, who could set himself up as a foreign-relations expert because he, like Lindbergh, had been honored by the Nazis; Eddie Rickenbacker, because he once could fly an airplane well; Mr. Hormel, because he makes good onion soup, and so on. It was all enormously diverting but wholly irrelevant. The parade of industrialists who don't want any of those nasty war profits was particularly interesting. Freaks of this kind, as Barnum realized, are box office for no other reason than that there are so few of them.

Except as a spectacle the Senate debate on neutrality won't be anything much. No one need worry about the outcome. A strict cash-and-carry bill permitting France and Great Britain to buy anything they need in the United States provided they pay on the barrel head and make delivery in their own ships will be enacted by a safe margin; the whole performance may take five or six weeks. But when Congress reconvenes in January, agitation for changes in the law passed at the special session probably will make amendment necessary. Before it is over, war economy will probably have produced an irresistible demand for extension of war credits to the Allies and animosity toward Hitler will have enervated the keep-out-of-war sentiment.

British Labor's War Aims

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

London, September 12

BRITISH labor had no alternative but to support the government's determination to resist Hitler's aggression against Poland. For long years it has insisted that there could be no peace in Europe—or, indeed, in the world—unless the policy of surrender to the dictators was abandoned. While it believes that the responsibility of the Chamberlain government for the development of the situation in which Hitler decided upon this evil gamble is a heavy one, it believes also that to have given Hitler a free hand in Poland would have been fatal. To have done so would merely have whetted his appetite for further conquest. It is impossible to live in a Europe in which a fascist power precipitates a major crisis every few months, with war as the alternative if it is not "appeased." The British government, therefore, in the labor view has taken the only possible decision. The destruction of Hitlerism is essential to a world in which there shall be the prospect of constructive peace.

But British labor has decided to maintain its political independence. It does so for obvious reasons:

1. It cannot have confidence in the Chamberlain government in the light of its past history. It must therefore retain complete freedom to criticize and, if necessary, to attack, in the light of the policies, domestic and international, pursued by that government.

2. Such freedom would have been gravely hampered if the party had accepted Mr. Chamberlain's invitation to enter a national government. Labor would have been the junior partner, outvoted at every point of difference and possibly committed for the sake of its survival to a policy in which it did not believe.

3. The existence of an opposition capable, at least, of becoming the major partner in an alternative government is not only pivotal to the working of the parliamentary system but essential to labor's task of putting before the country its own view of the way to wage the war and its own view of desirable peace terms. Consideration of these is already well on the way, and in each aspect it has already become clear that independence assures a much more complete attention to the labor view than entrance into the government would have secured.

4. The existence of a strong opposition limits the danger of an abuse of powers by an immensely strengthened central authority. It assures that week by week the government's actions will be subject to the closest scrutiny. On this head, labor has already exercised great influence in relation to evacuation, the terms of military service, and the methods of information and propaganda.

It must be reiterated that British labor stands completely by its assertion that it has no quarrel with the German people. It will insist on the cessation of hostili-

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ties as soon as there is a German government in power able to negotiate in behalf of a free people in Germany and willing to recognize the independence of Czechoslovakia and Poland and to agree that Austria must itself decide whether or not its future is to be within the German Reich. Labor will insist that the frontiers of Poland and Czechoslovakia be determined by a peace conference justly negotiated between equals, and that there must be no annexations anywhere and no punitive indemnities.

But in the labor view it is not enough to secure the *status quo ante* the aggressions of Hitler. Labor will demand therefore, as soon as such a peace is ratified, the reorganization of Europe on the basis of a federal democratic union. This would make impossible the use of war as an instrument of national sovereignty and make possible both effective disarmament and the end of that economic nationalism which has done so much to destroy European prosperity and, therefore, to facilitate the conditions for aggression. It will seek to secure the internationalization of colonies and the mitigation of the transition from war to peace by great schemes of national and international public works. It will insist to the electorate that the post-war economic and social problems can only be solved by a great instalment of socialization of the vital instruments of production in all the great states.

What attitude the National Government in Great Britain will take to these issues we do not yet know. That makes it all the more vital for labor to remain free of commitments to it. We are convinced, so far, that Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues will make peace at the first moment that peace offers prospects of a stable Europe, and that they will lend no ear to the idea of punitive measures against a free Germany. But the real debate must come on the larger questions. In our view, while Hitler must be smashed, we must also prevent the recurrence of the causes which led to Hitler. That is no longer possible in a capitalist society. We must take the risk of rebuilding European foundations; to this we see no alternative. Unless we do so, all the inherent causes of war will still persist in the European system. Hitler is a symptom of a disease. He is not himself the disease. A wise peace depends fundamentally upon that understanding.

The Russo-German pact has, in the Labor Party's view, had a grave and deleterious effect. While we believe that the British government has a heavy responsibility for it, while, also, we understand the Russian suspicions of Mr. Chamberlain's *bona fides,* while, also, we admit that it has its compensation in calling the bluff of Hitler's pretense of being a bulwark against Bolshevism, nevertheless we are compelled to conclude:

1. That the timing of the pact was disastrous. It could not but be a signal to Hitler that this was his best moment to attack Poland.

2. It prolongs the war by offering Germany the prospect of Russian supplies as an offset to the British naval blockade.

3. It signalizes the abandonment of the Russian thesis —strongly supported by the Labor Party—of the indivisibility of peace.

4. It abandons the historic role of the Soviet Union as the leader in the fight for collective security against fascist aggression. Soviet neutrality, on any showing, is an immense accession to Hitler's strength in his war against the democracies.

Granted all that can be said against the British government in this contest, what would the Soviet Union have said had it been suddenly announced, during the Anglo-French-Soviet military conversations, that Great Britain and Germany had concluded such a pact, that Herr von Ribbentrop was flying to London for its signature, and that the Croydon aerodrome was decorated with swastikas for the occasion? It may be that the Soviet Union has an adequate answer to all these points. Certainly that answer is not to be found in M. Molotov's speech of August 31, or in any subsequent Communist explanations. There is some evidence for believing that, after Munich, Soviet statesmen concluded that there were no circumstances unconnected with the direct interests of France and Great Britain for which Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier would fight, and that the treaty would therefore be an assurance against the possible isolation of the Soviet Union. After the signature of the Anglo-Polish pact this was bound to be a grave miscalculation. It remains difficult not to conclude on the facts so far available that the Russo-German pact, though not of course a primary cause of the war, was the incident that precipitated it. The triumphant attitude of Herr Hitler and his colleagues on its conclusion shows that they interpreted it as a signal to go ahead.

British labor has entered upon this war with no illusions about the difficulty of its task. It has to fight on two fronts. Abroad it has to keep alive that spirit of international good-will which makes for the earliest conclusion of hostilities and for a peace unmarred by the errors of Versailles. At home it must pursue unremittingly the task of convincing its fellow-citizens that without socialism an enduring peace is no longer available in Europe. Obviously, once the war begins to assume the form of major operations in the West, even more when air raids begin, the task will be hard indeed. Perhaps I may venture to say here that it is at this point that neutral, and especially American, influence will be decisive. If all their energies are devoted to the defense of the democratic faith, in every aspect of its possible application, the neutrals will do a noble service in keeping alive the little flame of reason. It is only in the degree that they succeed in doing this that we shall be able to achieve the hazardous adventure of using this grim tragedy for creative ends.

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Stalin and Union Square

BY JAMES WECHSLER

FOR two decades American radicals have participated vicariously in the triumphs and retreats of the Soviet regime. Events in Moscow have molded their thinking, overshadowed native politics, conditioned their emotional level. The ten days of October that John Reed chronicled were to influence American radical thought for a generation; and in August, 1939, the ten days that elapsed between Berlin's announcement and Moscow's ratification of the German-Russian pact seemed equally momentous. Certainly not since the advent of Hitler had there been an equivalent period of tension, so deep a premonition of change. A month later one can still only hint at the possible repercussions among those who, for better or worse, had been wedded to the fortunes of the Russian Revolution.

This article, written in the immediate chaotic aftermath of the event, aims to give an outline of what representative radicals and liberals were thinking in this period of upheaval. There was, I believe, wide agreement that final judgments must be suspended and even tentative theories held subject to change without notice. One can only reproduce the immediate picture and suggest the eventualities which would prove decisive. Put simply: if the pact is the forerunner of a full-fledged military alliance against the West, its effect in American leftist circles will be overwhelming. If no such sweeping and permanent accord emerges, there is likely to be a period of prolonged ferment in which new alignments will be indefinitely delayed.

The major concomitant of the line of the "democratic front" adopted by the Comintern in 1935 was the creation of a multitude of non-Communist groups. They carried the banners of anti-fascist unity among "men of good-will"; they preached collective security against fascist aggression; their programs bore little resemblance to the sectarian dogmas identified with the "third period." The extent to which these organizations were "controlled" by Communists has been a permanent source of debate; the important fact is that they were enthusiastically supported by large numbers of non-Communists who felt varying degrees of affection for the party itself and were bracketed under the classification of "fellow-travelers." Few voices were raised against Communist participation in these groups because, by and large, Communist policy from 1935 to 1939 harmonized with the position of large numbers of independent progressives for whom the growth of fascism was the central fact of political life. Then on August 21 a European dispatch suddenly shattered the framework within which this unity had flourished.

At once there were several important defections from the company of fellow-travelers. Turmoil was perceptible in bodies like the League for Peace and Democracy. It was evident that the stir would be most pronounced in those groups where liberal, middle-class, intellectual elements predominated. Undoubtedly the party will minimize such defections in terms of those adjectives. But certainly they define the circles in which the Communists have made their most impressive inroads during the last four years. The names of the casualties are less important than the fact that most of them had ardently identified themselves with popular-front objectives. Heywood Broun, who had steadfastly condemned attacks on Communists and affirmed their value in progressive groups, has announced that "we want neither Stalin nor Coughlin here." Paul de Kruif is quoted as declaring that "the only red in me is red, white, and blue." James Waterman Wise, in an article in *Opinion,* passionately denounces the "Russian betrayal." While these have been the loudest declarations of divorce from well-known fellow-travelers, others are impending or have been uttered privately. Within the American Student Union, Joseph P. Lash, its executive secretary, has sharply criticized the pact; similar reactions have been voiced by other pro-Soviet executives of "democratic front" movements.

Such developments are undoubtedly manifestations of a far-flung trend. But they do not constitute the whole story. There is probably an equal body of opinion still unprepared to render a final verdict; its chief characteristic is bewilderment. While almost universal dismay is felt over the timing of the pact, there is considerable reluctance to believe that it foreshadows an ideological alliance or that the primary guilt is Stalin's rather than Chamberlain's. And because this is true, the full fury of left resentment at the pact was not unleashed on Moscow. A considerable disposition still exists, moreover, to hope for a turn as swift as those which have already occurred. Among those most distraught by such events as the Moscow trials, the most pessimistic views are heard; among those less disposed to question earlier developments, there is less haste in rendering judgment; and among the most permanently devout fellow-travelers, persons like Corliss Lamont, whose faith in Soviet policy has never wavered, one finds a quick adjustment to what

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is cryptically called "a new situation." Vincent Sheean, who has warmly espoused Russian policy in foreign affairs, has also affirmed his confidence in the new policy.

These shadings of opinion could be enumerated indefinitely, but one reaction is almost universal among popular-front intellectuals. It is prompted less by the actions of the Soviet Union than by the utterances of the American Communist Party, the succession of ambiguous, frequently conflicting, but no less dogmatic statements which streamed out of party headquarters in the days after the signing of the pact. The *Daily Worker's* twenty-four-hour silence was at worst pitiable; it assumed an almost dignified aspect in contrast with ensuing somersaults. There was, first of all, Earl Browder's prophecy that the pact would contain an escape clause; it didn't. There was the assurance voiced by Israel Amter in the pre-war hours that if Poland really fought, the U. S. S. R. would come to its aid. There was the fervid plea for help to Poland carried by the *Daily Worker;* a fortnight later the same paper rejoiced at the political death of Poland's "semi-fascist clique." And throughout this period there was the slow emergence of a new foreign policy in the editorials of the Communist press, an evolution never accompanied by recognition of earlier errors. Each day, it appeared, the party was ruthlessly advancing to a position which the next day's events compelled it to abandon. To those asking for leadership it offered only the most desperate and unpersuasive rationalizations. And it offered them with neither humility nor reticence.

I found, in conversation with a host of individuals heretofore sympathetic to the party, that this tragic blundering had left a deep scar. They were almost unanimous in feeling that the party had been reduced to the role of a social secretary for Moscow, sending out apologies for its employer's antics without any comprehension of what they meant. This reaction was not a crude complaint against a "Moscow gold arrangement" for services rendered; it was a reaction against the lack of independence, self-reliance, and native reorientation allegedly revealed by the performance. Fundamentally it expressed revulsion against an institution in which intellectual consistency appeared less important than maintaining the doctrine of Soviet infallibility.

And as the new party position has crystallized, a further area of distrust has been opened. For four years the party had argued that even the admittedly imperfect capitalist democracies of Western Europe were incalculably preferable to German fascism. When its critics accused the party of false devotion to the democratic system, it pointed to the Communist defense of republican Spain. Then, overnight, the party press shifted its attack from fascism to "imperialist democracy," proclaimed that it had no favorites in the new "imperialist war," and rediscovered the plight of British colonial subjects. I emphasize again that those who are critical of this intellectual somersault share a good measure of Communist skepticism toward the present French and British governments. What they resent is the party's soft-pedaling of previously accepted distinctions between these regimes and Nazi rule. In the light of these altered policies many liberals and radicals see only the bleakest future for the "united-front organizations" in which the Communists have figured so prominently. Can these organizations survive without Communist inspiration? Conversely, can they survive if the Communists seek to impose their newly acquired policies on them? I have heard that within the League for Peace and Democracy there is a 40 per cent bloc critical of Russian policy, the remaining being either neutral or sympathetic. On what platform, if any, can these divergent views be united? Will there be a shift toward the isolationism now manifest in Communist policy? Will the drive for repeal of the embargo be pressed as vigorously as it would have been before the Communist reorientation? Will the Communists slowly retire again to the position of relative obscurity which they held before the new line was adopted? And if they do, will the organizations which they helped to create survive their departure?

The deepening uncertainty has, momentarily at least, produced a new kind of refugee—the homeless radical. In the past he has been identified with efforts in which the Communist Party played a vital role. He has belonged to groups and leagues and committees which were pro-Soviet, anti-fascist, and dedicated in an immediate sense to the protection of bourgeois democracy. He may have been socialist in ultimate conviction, or committed to nothing more drastic than reforms within the framework of capitalistic democracy. He is now confronted with the necessity of evaluating his own position, rediscovering some organizational ties, or fleeing into a lonely isolation. Where does he go from here?

I have already encountered tentative groping toward a new alignment. Its most likely form would be a loose, flexible body comparable to the "New Beginnings" group which emerged in post-Hitler Germany, a group socialist in ultimate objective but committed to no orthodox doctrine or to any International, and unwilling to assume the shape and functions of a political party until its strength has been established. It would strive to revitalize native currents in American radicalism, formulate a declaration of American radical independence, and shape a program for the unorganized American left as the war develops. Its most immediate goals would be the defense of civil liberties, especially as they are threatened by "emergency decrees," and protection of the social gains achieved under the New Deal. Neither the form nor the content of such a grouping is any clearer than I have indicated, nor has its organization advanced beyond the discussion stage. The usefulness of such a project probably depends upon the existence of a time

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interval here, if not in Europe, in which some measure of reconstruction can be achieved. What it would primarily offer is an immediate alternative to individual flight.

If the ranks of those who had allied themselves with "democratic front" groups without accepting the credo of the party have been depleted, no comparable movement is evident within the party itself. Tumultuous debates at unit meetings have been followed by threatened resignations and these in turn by reconversions, but by and large the ranks have remained firm, even as the line wavered. There is no simple explanation for this phenomenon. It is deeply rooted in the habits of mind and the attitude toward society that pervade the Communist ranks. The cardinal factor, most observers agree, is the survival of the "faith." And the major article of this faith is the incorruptibility of the U. S. S. R. For two decades Communist policy throughout the world has veered sharply, often in opposing directions; but loyalty to the Soviet Union has remained fixed.

But this is not the only explanation of the party's solidity. While the Communists since 1935 have abandoned a good many of their most sectarian habits, they have retained a half-veiled suspicion and distrust of the world beyond the party. It was not a "respectable" party even when its position conformed most closely to that of the moderately respectable New Deal. Then suddenly, with the signing of the pact, the peril of its own isolation loomed again. Now was the time for all good men to come to the aid of the party. They did.

Shortly after the invasion of Poland a mass-meeting was staged in Madison Square Garden. Beforehand there was considerable speculation: would the Garden be half empty, would the meeting be listless, would there be large-scale heckling? In fact the Garden was jammed, the crowd almost frenzied in its enthusiasm, dissenters nowhere in evidence. Not that ideological clarity had been miraculously restored. The crowd appeared at times uncertain as to whether boos or cheers were called for in the light of the new policy. The most bitter jeers were inspired by reference to the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, toward whom the party position was obviously unaltered. Except for Earl Brower's address the speeches dealt with trivial details: Mother Bloor talked of old times and of making New York a finer city; Charles Krumbein talked endlessly of many minor matters; there was a good deal of singing and cheering, and old revolutionary songs, reminiscent of the "third period," were once more restored to prominence. The thing that stood out in the meeting was the almost desperate huddling together of people confronted by a monumental world crisis, taking refuge in a reaffirmation of their own solidarity. One felt that what was said from the speakers' platform was less important to the audience than the reassuring knowledge that 20,000 people agreed with it.

There is a final factor which explains the ease with which at least a section of the party has adjusted itself to the new line. It must be remembered that even in the era of the popular front there were many "old Bolsheviks" within the party who maintained a cynical reticence while outwardly embracing capitalist democracy. The party never developed any systematic elaboration of a democratic credo. To many of its adherents, even amid the most rhapsodic devotion to the New Deal, the dictatorship of the proletariat remained a far more glowing emblem.

But in some circles, within the party as well as outside, neither official rationalizations nor the appearance of stability in a crisis, both of which the party offers, have sufficed. Already it has been reported that Granville Hicks has resigned from the party and is publishing a statement of the reasons for his withdrawal in the *New Republic*. Robert Forsythe's name has been removed, at his request, from the masthead of the *New Masses*. Richard Rovere, one of the *New Masses'* younger editors, has also withdrawn. Inevitably, of course, such defections were bound to occur first among intellectuals, not necessarily because they are "intellectuals," but because their task is the verbal refinement of party policy. And it is this task which has been rendered so grotesque in recent weeks. There have been other resignations both among writers and among the rank and file. But the bulk of party writers is likely to remain devoted, at least pending some even more spectacular development. The most primitive interpretation of this fealty is that they have a "vested interest" in the party's existence. In a sense they have; but it is above all an emotional investment. The same condition prevails in the higher realms of the party leadership, from which no reports of defection have emanated.

A Communist leader cannot easily find another political foothold; no other left groups are clamoring for his services, and an effective revolt within the party cannot be readily engineered. Under these conditions men seldom resolve their doubts; they steel themselves against having them. It is still premature to say that no split may ultimately evolve out of the present ferment. But in both its ideological tenacity and its organizational structure the Communist Party is singularly well equipped to avert that development. Not that the party rank and file will remain permanently intact. It never has even in less troubled moments. The annual "turnover" in membership has always been large. Present events are likely to increase the ratio of this turn-over. The real question is whether, as in the past, it will be compensated for by new recruits or whether these developments will prevent the filling of the gaps created by slow and unspectacular defections. Not even the party leadership knows the answer.

There is of course a group within the party which has never felt too much enthusiasm for the official words of

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party chieftains and has resented their intellectual double bookkeeping. But its members insist that such vulgarities of method and presentation are subordinate to the need for a disciplined movement in an era of crisis. Their position is a compound of rigid faith in the U. S. S. R., of hope for its eventual fulfilment of international pledges, and of charity toward a movement which has weathered so many tempests. Genuinely perturbed by defections around them, they calmly recite Lenin's prophecy: When the locomotive of history takes a sharp turn, only the steadfast cling to the train.

While the pro-popular-front liberals grope for their bearings and the bulk of Communist Party members remain fixed in their devotion, the other left parties have tried, not too effectually, to strengthen their ranks. In this camp the three outstanding groups are the Socialist Party, led by Norman Thomas, the Independent Labor League, led by Jay Lovestone, and the Socialist Workers' Party, following Leon Trotsky. Typical of the smaller groups is the League for a Revolutionary Workers' Party. All these organizations have been consistently and fiercely "anti-Stalinist"; all of them have assumed the corrupt nature of the Soviet regime and now interpret the Russo-German pact as a vindication of their Cassandra-like warnings. Their utterances since the pact reflect relief at the fulfilment of their prophecies. Not that joy is unconfined; it would be inaccurate to suggest that they are unaware of the darkness of the world scene. The pact's effect on their policies, however, is far less striking than its effect on the Communist Party. Before the pact they insisted that the coming war was a struggle between rival imperialisms, and they still say so. To that extent, paradoxically enough, their position roughly coincides with the new program of the Communist Party. But the heritage of factional strife, even among these anti-Stalinist groups, is so bitter that no unity has been achieved; and their broad agreement with the Communist position on war is unlikely to obscure the more passionate discord over Russia's role. Meanwhile, the Social Democratic Federation, through its organ, the *New Leader,* remains virtually alone among organized groups in advancing the position that Hitlerism must be smashed, that this war is an anti-fascist war, and that if American military intervention is necessary, it should be forthcoming.

The central fact is that these are moments of transition among radical and liberal forces. If the issue of Russian policy has once more troubled and divided them, it must now be seen in the context of the greater issue of the war itself. And the attitude of the left toward the war is still not finally crystallized except in the ranks of the official parties. Numerically the left in America has never constituted a formidable bloc. It has had significance as an intellectual *avant-garde* bringing fresh and challenging insights at a time when traditional doctrines were being repudiated. Its fulfilment of that function now depends upon its own clarity and the accord which it can achieve within its ranks. The darkest aspect of the present period is the confusion which has gripped so large a section of the left and the internal warfare which destroys its efforts. Its immediate survival may be threatened by an onrush of repressive legislation in Washington. Its ultimate direction may still be determined by the future course of Russian policy.

Portrait of a Dollar-a-Year Man

BY I. F. STONE

THE dollar-a-year men are beginning to arrive in Washington. The first since 1917 were appointed by Secretary Morgenthau on September 5. W. R. Burgess, vice-chairman of the National City Bank, will advise on government financing. Tom K. Smith, president of the Boatmen's National Bank of St. Louis, and a past president of the American Bankers' Association, will be "a sort of coordinator of all banking problems for the Treasury." Earle Bailie, chairman of the Tri-Continental Corporation and the leading partner in J. and W. Seligman and Company, will help the Secretary of the Treasury "on international monetary matters." These appointments are typical of the new men being brought into the government under cover of the war crisis. I wish to call attention at this time to only one of these appointees, Earle Bailie. For the case against the choice of Mr. Bailie as a Treasury adviser rests on more than surmise, and he may serve to illustrate the influences that will intrench themselves in the capital if the current *Anschluss* with Wall Street is completed.

Part of the story I have to tell has never been told before, but there are Senators who know the unpublished document on which it is based, a memorandum submitted by the late Senator Couzens to an executive session of the Senate Finance Committee on January 4, 1934. The day after that meeting the New York *Times* carried a story from Washington saying that "it was understood" that Senator Couzens had protested to the President against

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the appointment of Bailie as Morgenthau's special assistant in charge of fiscal affairs. It was also "understood," according to the *Times*, that the Senator had "sought to obtain from Mr. Morgenthau information as to the exact date when Mr. Bailie would relinquish his post." Morgenthau had been Acting Secretary since the death of Mr. Woodin. His nomination as Secretary was before the Senate Finance Committee. Senator Couzens took the position that he would oppose Morgenthau's appointment unless assured that Bailie would resign. On January 6, two days after the executive session, Mr. Bailie tendered his resignation, and Mr. Morgenthau's nomination was favorably reported to the Senate.

Senator Couzens's chief objection to Mr. Bailie will stir unpleasant recollections among many small-town American bankers and investors who were unwise enough to buy Peruvian bonds in 1927 and 1928. Mr. Bailie's banking firm and the National City Company headed the syndicate which floated an issue of about $90,000,000 in Peruvian bonds in this country. When Senator Couzens addressed the Senate Finance Committee, these bonds were selling at less than six cents on the dollar, and even today they can be bought for less than eight cents on the dollar. Their precipitous decline was explained when a Senate committee in 1932 investigated foreign bond flotations in this country. The committee found that the employee sent to Peru by J. and W. Seligman to make an investigation before the bonds were issued, warned that they would be in default in five years. The National City received, and likewise ignored, three warnings from its representatives. A vice-president called Peru "an adverse moral and political risk." The company's overseas manager described the government of Peru as "a president surrounded by a group of rascals." National City's representative in Peru reported the Peruvian treasury was "flat on its back and gasping for breath." Yet the bankers were so anxious to get the bonds that the Seligman firm paid the son of President Leguia of Peru a commission of approximately $415,000 to arrange for this high-class engraved Peruvian wallpaper. "The bonds were sold to the public," Senator Couzens's memorandum says, "without any statement by the bankers of the warning which they had received."

Senator Couzens did not seem to think that Mr. Bailie was away fishing while this $90,000,000 bond issue was arranged and sold. Mr. Bailie had been a partner in the Seligman firm for ten years when Senator Couzens objected to his appearance in the Treasury, and the Senator told the Senate Finance Committee that Mr. Bailie was not only an important partner "but in fact has been in command, and at most periods actually first in command" during those ten years. Senator Couzens explained that the most important member of the firm, Frederick Strauss, had been "inactive for large periods of time during the past ten years, and the main authority has therefore fallen to Mr. Bailie as second in line." Senator Couzens further declared that Mr. Bailie's importance could be judged by the fact "that the half-dozen investment trusts controlled by that banking firm are under the direction of Mr. Bailie, as chairman of the board or president of each investment-trust corporation, and in most cases as both chairman and president." Of these investment trusts Senator Couzens asserted that they "are arranged in the dangerous crazy-quilt fashion that marks such situations as the Insull utility holding companies and pyramids." He referred to the fact that one of these interlocking companies had made a contract with another for "investment service"—"the same sort of dangerous practice that public-utility holding companies engage in when they provide management service to public-utility operating companies controlled by the holding companies." Senator Couzens pointed out that on the board of directors of Tri-Continental, top holding company of the Seligman pyramid, Mr. Bailie had associated with him Wiggin of Chase National and Groesbeck of Electric Bond and Share. Senator Couzens did not feel that these associations recommended him for a post in the Treasury—particularly so soon after Mr. Roosevelt had driven the money changers from the temple.

Senator Couzens said he thought it essential "that a man with an important place in the United States Treasury shall have (1) ability, (2) disinterestedness and a sense of the obligations of trusteeship, and (3) the character, experience, and standing which will instil confidence in the public asked to buy United States government bonds." He felt that Mr. Bailie's record had to be considered "in accordance with these criteria," and he did not rest his case only on the Peruvian bonds and Mr. Bailie's other associations.

Senator Couzens said that Mr. Bailie "has also had many interesting affiliations in connection with the reorganization of corporations." He took as an example the bankrupt St. Louis-San Francisco Railway Company, of which Mr. Bailie was a director and later "one of its so-called readjustment managers, the men who are to reorganize the corporation." He added that the plan of reorganization prepared by Mr. Bailie and his associates in July, 1932, had been attacked before the ICC "by leading life-insurance companies and banks." Senator Couzens said that the plan was attacked for favoritism to certain bank creditors at the expense of the bondholders, and as "financially inadvisable and impracticable"; and that Mr. Bailie and his associates had obtained control of more than $100,000,000 of principal amount of the railroad's bonds by an advertising campaign that seems less than candid. "The chairman of the railway company's board," Senator Couzens told the Finance Committee, "recently admitted under oath in a proceeding conducted by the Interstate Commerce Commission that they realized that the company would have to be put in receivership in order to carry through their reorganization plan, but Mr. Bailie and his associates

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entered upon a nation-wide advertising campaign to get control of the bondholders' bonds by telling them that if the bondholders sent in their bonds in sufficient numbers, receivership could be averted."

Senator Couzens pointed out that the legal work for the railroad managers in this reorganization, as in so many great railroad reorganizations, was done by Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine, and Wood. The Senator said Mr. Bailie started out as a lawyer in that firm, "one of the most powerful, if not the most powerful, in Wall Street," and "his brother-in-law is now a member of this law firm." Senator Couzens declared that this firm had been "the guiding spirit in many of the big deals which have been criticized in recent years." "In consequence," he continued, "the relation of Mr. Bailie to that firm is of importance. That firm will now have a friend in the Administration and a pipe-line to the activities and resources of the United States government."

Finally Senator Couzens took up Mr. Bailie's attitude toward reform legislation. He pointed out that Mr. Bailie, as chairman of the Committee on Railroad Securities of the Investment Bankers' Association of America, had objected in 1933 to those parts of the truth-in-securities act which affected railroad securities, though these were milder than the provisions governing non-railroad securities. He said that Bailie "was also an opponent of such provisions of the railroad-reorganization act of March 3, 1933, as seek to curb the power of bankers and others who have had an unfortunate influence over such reorganizations." Senator Couzens found it "difficult to reconcile a man of Mr. Bailie's viewpoint with the New Deal." The measured warning with which the Couzens memorandum ends cannot be ignored by New Dealers as the dollar-a-year men mobilize to make Washington safe for Wall Street. This is what Couzens said:

> Some of the least satisfactory elements in Wall Street now have direct access to the operations of the government. It is hard to estimate how much this can mean. The government is spending billions of dollars through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other organizations for projects some of which may not come up to those standards Congress had in mind when it authorized such expenditures. Furthermore, the Treasury is going to take action of one kind or another which will profoundly benefit speculators or others who may have advance information of what is coming. The question which arises in connection with Mr. Bailie's occupation of an important post in the Treasury is whether he has shown himself to be the type of man who will be a bulwark against special favors and special opportunities for Wall Street men, or whether his connections and affiliations are such as to make this prospect dangerous for the public.

Is it not the Senate's duty today to make Secretary Morgenthau answer that question?

Everybody's Business

Bonds Under Fire

THE counterpart of the sharp rise in stocks and commodities in Wall Street has been the slump in government and other high-grade bonds. That is to say the price of money, as expressed in rates of interest, has been rising along with the prices of other things, necessitating an upward adjustment in yields of existing bonds. This situation has been brought about, not by any sudden increase in demand for credit or any sudden shrinkage in the supply, but simply by a belief that war spells inflation. Thus holders of securities returning a fixed income fear that with a rising cost of living this income will buy a smaller amount of goods, while simultaneously higher interest rates will induce a drop in existing bond prices and so reduce the value of their capital. As a result the tendency is for bonds to be sold and the proceeds reinvested in equities the income from which, it is hoped, will expand rapidly enough to keep pace with rising commodity prices.

Theoretically there is a good deal to be said for this point of view, and if the war lasts a long time and produces the kind of American boom forecast in some quarters, we may see both higher living costs and higher interest rates. But as I pointed out two weeks ago, it is rather dangerous to expect that the economic pattern of the last war is going to be exactly repeated in this one. We are starting with a very different set of basic factors, and in no field more so than in that of money and credit. In 1914 London was the financial center of the world, and both Berlin and Paris were more important than New York. In those days everyone was trying to turn funds into sterling, with the result that the dollar went to a tremendous discount and gold flowed out of America. Moratoriums applied in European capitals tied up American funds. For a time there was monetary famine, and short-term loan rates rose from between 3 and 4 per cent to as high as 8 per cent. Even so, the period of stringency was not prolonged. Before the end of 1914 short-term loans had become as cheap as before the war, and rates did not start rising again until a year and a half later. The movement of high-grade bonds was similar. From the end of 1914 until the beginning of 1917 they followed an upward trend and only turned sharply lower when the entry of America into the war caused a greatly increased demand for long-term credit.

The new outbreak of war in Europe finds us with such a plethora of credit as no country has ever known before. The steady flow of gold into our coffers over a period of years has been reflected in mounting bank deposits at a time when the slackness of business has rendered impossible any corresponding increase in bank loans. In an attempt to employ their resources the banks have been heavy buyers of government obligations, but nevertheless excess reserves have continually mounted and now exceed five billion dollars. This is to say that even though the demand for bank credit should expand tremendously, it could be met without the banks being forced to tighten their security portfolios.

The selling of government bonds during the past three

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weeks which has brought about falls of six points and more does not seem to be due to bank liquidation. In the first two weeks of September, holdings of Treasury obligations by Federal Reserve member banks in 101 leading cities declined by $49,000,000, but in the same period the Federal Reserve system absorbed no less than $400,000,000 of governments. This large volume of selling appears to have come mainly from individual holders, small country banks, investment trusts hoping for profitable switches into stocks, and corporations wishing to augment their supplies of cash in anticipation of improved business. The big institutional holders kept aloof from the market. They were not throwing their bonds overboard, but on the other hand they were not going to buy until they were convinced prices had touched bottom for the time being. In these circumstances the market might have become thoroughly demoralized if the Federal Reserve System had not stepped in and cushioned the fall in prices by heavy purchases. In the past few days this prop has been withdrawn, and although there has been a further decline in quotations the volume of offerings has also been much reduced, and it may be that the market is about to settle down at a new level which will still leave the average yield on long-term federal issues at well under 3 per cent. Insurance companies, trust companies, and other institutions which are bound to invest a large proportion of their funds in the highest-grade bonds are certain to be buyers again as soon as a fairly stable position is established. The latest return of the New York City member banks shows in fact moderate additions to holdings of both Treasury bills and United States bonds.

It is fortunate that the Treasury has pursued a very prudent policy in regard to its financing as otherwise the strain of these first few weeks of war would have been considerably greater. Last June it refunded notes aggregating $426,000,000 originally scheduled to mature this month. The next maturity to be attended to is on December 15. Hence it was easily possible to postpone the financing which had been contemplated for mid-September. Nor is there any urgent need to raise new money hastily despite the fact that government deficits will be heavy in the next few months. At the end of August the Treasury's working balance amounted to $1,539,000,000, which should be more than ample to take care of the excess of cash outgo over cash income up to the end of the calendar year.

The question remains whether, over a longer term, the fear of sharply increased interest rates, which has caused the present market weakness in bonds, will prove justified. Personally I doubt whether the kind of monetary stringency which developed in the last war will occur. It could hardly do so unless a war boom in industry was allowed to develop into a runaway orgy of speculation. The Administration seems to be alive to this danger, which still looks remote, and it has many weapons at its command with which to forestall it. In case the Stock Exchange got out of hand, for instance, it could revise margin requirements or even stop margin trading altogether. But so far the expansion of business on the Stock Exchange has been largely on a cash basis, and since August 30 brokers' loans in New York have actually declined from $467,000,000 to $405,000,000.

KEITH HUTCHISON

In the Wind

GRIMM'S DICTIONARY of the German language is still being published in sections at Leipzig. On the eve of the war a new section was issued, ranging from the words *Trotzen* to *Trügerei*—from defying to deceiving.

NOTE OF HOPE: From Hedda Hopper's movie column in the Washington *Post:* "Don't forget the war will cancel all British and French productions. And in the last two years they've been giving us some of our stiffest competition. So get down on those knees . . . and give thanks."

THE CHRISTIAN MOBILIZERS, most belligerent wing of the anti-Semitic drive, are quietly organizing secret "guard units." It is said that the Mobilizers already have 200 recruits for these units, that they will drill in secret—without arms for the present—and that they describe themselves as "generals of our army of the future." The base of the Mobilizers' operations is still New York, but there are intermittent reports of their invasion of other cities.

SINCE THE appointment of Earle Bailie as a "dollar-a-year man" in the Treasury Department (see I. F. Stone's article in this issue), liberal New Dealers have coined a new description of the department. They call it the "bailiwick."

ONE QUAINT aftermath of the Russo-German pact was a letter received by *The Nation* from Merwin K. Hart, well-known pro-Franco stalwart. He requested the names of the 400 liberals who signed a statement outlining ten basic differences between Germany and Russia.

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION: Some weeks ago this column pointed out that a Tourist Club in Brazil had published a guidebook which listed foreign consulates in alphabetical order—except that Germany came first. A number of readers insist that the sinister note was unwarranted. In Portuguese Germany is called *Alemania,* and the same alphabetical order was retained in the English guidebook.

LEFT-WING CIRCLES were jolted by the August issue of the *Communist International,* recently circulated here, which contains a belated and denunciatory review of Joseph Freeman's "American Testament." Freeman is an ex-editor of the *New Masses* and well known as a party spokesman. But the Comintern magazine now calls his book—which was published three years ago and widely sold by Communist bookstores—"hackwork," decries its "Trotskyist" tendencies, and raps the *Daily Worker* for having reviewed it favorably three years ago.

PROBABLY THE shortest "extension of remarks" in its history was published in the *Congressional Record* last month. On August 4 Congressman Bender of Ohio asked unanimous consent to "extend his remarks"; it was granted. The extension read: "Mr. Speaker, of every dollar spent by the federal government, 39 cents is borrowed money."

[*The $5 prize for the best item submitted during September goes to H. B. of Richmond Hill, New York, for the item about the New York University handbook published last week.*]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

England, America, and the War

London, September 15

WHAT of the attitude of England to the United States now that war has come? Well, there is thus far a most commendable absence of any visible effort to propagandize. Sir Frederick Whyte has been appointed head of the American division of the Ministry of Information, which has been established in the magnificent new Senate Building of the University of London, but I am assured on high authority that there is not the slightest intention this time to send over a group of paid propagandists to convert the Americans. This decision is due in part, I believe, to the realization that it is totally unnecessary to do any converting, that the American people, with the exception of a few disloyal German-Americans, are solidly anti-Hitler, and in part to the realization that Americans have not forgotten the British sins in the last war. Certainly the only people who can prejudice the Allied cause in the United States this time are the Allies themselves. It would be the height of wisdom for the British government to announce that no paid propagandists will be sent over; if it does not, veteran British lecturers, like S. K. Ratcliffe, who have been interpreters and never propagandists, may find that their activities are misunderstood.

It is even more important that the English should not feed us atrocity stories this time. Some horrible stories of the effects of the war upon Poland are naturally coming through—justified and truthful reports I believe, for you cannot wage war with the present high-powered killing weapons, airplanes, and such, without laying everything waste. But we most assuredly need no false Lord Bryce reports, no yarns of crucified Canadian soldiers, of babies with their hands cut off and nuns with their breasts removed, to make us oppose Hitlerism and give our sympathies to the Allies. If anything of the kind should start, it would become a serious boomerang. What the ministry should send over to the United States, if it sends anything, is facts. It ought to give all possible help to the American correspondents here to get the truth—as much as may be printed without injuring the military situation. It ought to do everything in its power to make the American, as well as the British, public believe that the British bulletins and communiqués are absolutely true and not deliberately falsified as were the figures of shipping losses in the last war. I am happy to say there is every evidence thus far of a desire to do this very thing. At least, the government has not concealed the unhappy fact that it has had very serious losses of ships since the war began, and that they are continuing.

It goes without saying that the people here hope that the President will have his way with Congress, and bring about the amendment of the neutrality law; and I have no doubt that many of them are praying that if the worst comes to the worst we will again send an army. Yet many say to me frankly that if they were Americans they would be in favor of the law as it stands, and against American intervention over here. I had an interesting talk with a taxi driver in Salisbury a few days ago, a veteran of the last war who is awaiting his call as a member of the reserve to go again. Obviously of superior education—he said that the last war had ruined his chance of becoming a mechanical engineer—he asked if we were not coming in to help. When I asked him if he thought we Americans ought to underwrite the blunders and stupidities of British diplomacy every twenty-five years, and if in that case he didn't think we ought to have some say about the formulation of British foreign policy, he replied, "Of course you should." When I have half jestingly suggested this to people of importance in this country, and asked whether we should not have at least two ministers in the British Cabinet, to my surprise the suggestion has been taken rather seriously.

Similarly, when I have pointed out that the isolationists truly believe that the best way for the United States to help the Allies and the world is to keep out of the present struggle and to remain a great reservoir of democracy and of material means with which to rebuild the lost continent of Europe, they have unanimously declared that that was an entirely defensible point of view. I am more than ever of this opinion, for I see British democracy vanishing day by day. Parliament is rapidly becoming a group which meets once a week to hear a report from the Prime Minister of the progress of the war, to listen to criticisms from the two opposition leaders, Greenwood and Sinclair, and to ask a few questions. The power has gone to the Cabinet and the Prime Minister, and what has been done here to make over industrial life in the last two weeks would make startling reading. In 1914 "Business as usual" was the slogan. This time the government has played havoc with numerous industries, the reason or the excuse being that the danger of air raids necessitates it. Well, any war would bring changes. How radical they are going to be this time depends on the length of the struggle.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

AUTUMN MISCELLANY—SEVEN POEMS

SELECTED BY JOHN BERRYMAN

On an Old Horn

BY WALLACE STEVENS

I

The bird kept saying that birds had once been men,
Or were to be, animals with men's eyes,
Men fat as feathers, misers counting breaths,
Women of a melancholy one could sing.
Then the bird from his ruddy belly blew
A trumpet round the trees. Could one say that it was
A baby with the tail of a rat?
The stones
Were violet, yellow, purple, pink. The grass
Of the iris bore white blooms. The bird then boomed.
Could one say that he sang the colors in the stones,
False as the mind, instead of the fragrance, warm
With sun?
In the little of his voice, or the like,
Or less, he found a man, or more, against
Calamity, proclaimed himself, was proclaimed.

II

If the stars that move together as one, disband,
Flying like insects of fire in a cavern of night,
Pipperoo, pippera, pipperum . . . The rest is rot.

Matthew Arnold

BY W. H. AUDEN

His gift knew what he was—a dark disordered city;
Doubt hid it from the father's fond chastising sky,
Where once the mother-farms had glowed protectively
Spread the haphazard alleys of the neighbors' pity.

Yet would have gladly lived in him and learned his ways,
And grown observant like a beggar, and become
Familiar with each square and boulevard and slum,
And found in the disorder a whole world to praise.

But all his homeless reverence, revolted, cried:
"I am my father's forum, and he shall be heard;
Nothing shall contradict his holy final word,
Nothing." And thrust his gift in prison till it died.

And left him nothing but a jailor's voice and face,
And all rang hollow but the clear denunciation
Of a gregarious optimistic generation
That saw itself already in a father's place.

The Statue of Shadow

BY JOHN PEALE BISHOP

This was that mystery of clearest light:
No cloud
No shadow of a cloud
Passed on the stretch where then I stood.
A sandy noon consumed my sight.

I saw my body cast
In shadow and was afraid.
I saw time vast
As my own shadow and was afraid.
In light and a vision of light
I saw my stature cast
Upon that coast.
The shade of all those centuries
Where death is longing and fate a crime
Lay long
But no longer
Than the statue of shadow
Noon laid at my feet.

This was that mystery:
Time had no other feature.

That Summer's End

BY JOHN PEALE BISHOP

The yellow wallpaper and the polished floor,
Tall doors that closed upon the afternoon
Had so subdued the light that once a wasp
Hungry for honey came into that room.

Candles extinct, the crystal sconces made
Slight dissonances with every air that waved,
Discreet as light. Old faded curtains could
Remember color in unraveled threads.

It seemed that sullen light could never fade.
Summer was endless as the cicada's drone
That rose to silence and began again,
Increasing stridence in a drought of leaves.

Yet all unseen the maples gathered shade
As madness gathers head. None looked. Gusts shook—
And then a sudden looking saw the trees
One shivering silver bending to the storm.

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How should we dream the source of light could fail?
Yet, children, we had entertained for years
A madman in that house and never known
How close his motion to delirium

Until that day, after a long drive,
When he came home alone through summer storm
Without a thought that he had left alive,
In a ditch, my mother murdered on the road.

Unto the Second Generation

BY W. R. MOSES

When his father walked in the woods, the pines
Bowed flat to him; he made their long trunks float
Pike-darted stream to mill, to be his wealth;
Quacking mallards of fall to his hidden boat
Plunged for his proper dinner; and the mink
And beaver shed their richest coats for him,
To question whose control was vain as if
The pines should have implored he pity them.

Wild things grow independent; the pines draw
Far back from stump-filled farms; the pike and trout
Bite for the summer anglers; mallards veer
In thin lines far from blind; in summer drought
Mud shows few tracks of fur-rich courtiers;
All these deny him wealth, or well-clothed limb,
To try to make whom lord were vain as if
He should implore the pines they pity him.

Angina Pectoris

BY W. R. MOSES

The steady heart, which in its steadiness
Allowed formation of the somewhat, life,
Unsteadies, stops; and so a thick debris
Drops to the sidewalk, where the poor limbs sprawl
Like things a child had made of mud, and all
The color leaves the face, pale as a knife.

When the man walked down the street in his mackinaw,
Or sat in a barroom gurgling at his beer,
It was only a small usurper of oxygen
I noticed; I'd have seen him ship for Spain,
Or go to Dakota and die working with grain,
And never thought, or been glad he was not here.

But now that I see him neutral earth, to bury
In earth, for damp, or a pale, poetic swarm
Of worms to end, I'm sorry; I wish him what
I'd not wish other mud: that he ate tonight
With children he loved; that the meal was heavy and right;
That he slept with plenty of quilts to keep him warm.

Of Gramatan's Transaction

BY BHAIN CAMPBELL

(A Letter from Bronxville, New York, to a Young Man Newly Become a Little Merchant)

Where that Mohican Gramatan, plumed
Like a bird or bush or flower, stood
And sold his hunting province into land,
I stand, and watch the English architecture,
Plot and chimney, and the servants' quarters,
Change what any man could think of freedom,
Once, like air, between the Hudson and the sea.
—We were once of highlands, islands, and once free.

Here, where flowers have no harvest look,
Being bred for epitaphs and candles, not the sun,
The owners boom up from the underpass
And tread the walks in the white afternoons;
All day, all day the hair is dressed about
The temples of these men who do not work.
—Struck by their manner, you would miss their shame,
In the formal garden the marauding flame.

What Gramatan, in trading, overlooked
Was that he made a title to our day,
And heard that sovereign ring upon the stone
And heard no brokers raging in the Street
And did not know what blood would have to pay.
—So might you, turning tradesman, sell us all
And by your counter count yourself a class
To bid a man price freedom under glass.

Today on Sunset Hill the Moorish palace
Sails toward Germany, the German sign;
Although the railway schedule still is kept,
The vicious children snarl among the vines.
—See now that difference, as now you turn
From work to sales: who could supply a want
Must now want to supply, and you can cry
Not *We must work* but *We must sell—or die.*

Could that Mohican Gramatan but rise
From Chester or Bear Mountain, head the pass,
And tell us like a god what's for our eyes.
—Look in our childhood, or our country's: there
In the fabulous real forest of our chance
We could have bartered with a savage peace,
Exchanged for love, and let a man be fair,
Sowing the slopes with maize that we could share.

But all the streets are paved, where deer then drank,
And that Mohican name is on the Bank.
—When the Eleventh Month darkness caps the Hill
And Destiny like a dirigible swings in sight,
Will you hysterical on your counter stand,
Cheer for that Master, ring death upon your till?—
Recall the communal longhouse from its night,
Unpack the tools with which a man can fight.

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Say, Gramatan, we purchased this for use.
—Though the pheasant in the copse, the rabbit
In the hedge, have not more fears than I that when
The First Month breaks new colors out, my signals
From the hill may be unintelligible
To you, yet I love what in you may recall
What Pericles, that tyrant, said: Though men
May get houses, O houses get no men.

BOOKS

Reality in Pictures

MODERN MAN IN THE MAKING. By Otto Neurath. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.95.

THE author, director of the International Foundation for Visual Education, states in his foreword the aim of his original work: "to trace the origin of 'modern man' and depict his behavior and achievements, without presenting any social or economic theory." This announcement introduces an element of suspense which is characteristic of the whole book. One wonders for more reasons than one whether such an attempt can succeed. How can "modern man" and his world be depicted without interpretation? Isn't the source of theory the necessity and the desire of man to overcome the thousand-fold distracting expressions of life? If we take away theory shall we not have only the trees, so to speak, without the forest? The author has long since been conscious of this basic problem. He has developed his own method of conveying the thousand facts of which we must be conscious before we can attempt to interpret life as it is and as it has moved through the ages. He says: "An attempt has been made to evolve for this purpose a special picture-text style which should enable anybody to walk through the modern world that is beginning to appear about us and see it as he may see a landscape with its hills and plains, woods and meadows."

This "picture-text style" is based on the "isotype" method which the author and his collaborators developed in fifteen years' work. They invented picture signs for hundreds of entities, replacing words by neat and astonishingly typical drawings which can be understood at a glance. But that is not all. They invented a method of combining these signs with others in such a convincing way that a complicated situation or development—for example, the unemployment cycles from 1853 to 1937—becomes clear and understandable in a few seconds. You *see* it, and the whole drawing takes far less space than a description in words. This picture-text does not replace the word-text, it is merely used to describe such facts and observations as can be more easily and more plainly conveyed by a picture language than a word language. More than half of "Modern Man in the Making" is "written" in this new picture language, and its usability is demonstrated most convincingly, even when the subject is the complex one of "public opinion" or "political organization."

Having established his own extremely suitable method, the author sets out to give and to combine all the established facts of modern society—it is surprising how few they are—as it slowly emerged out of the unknown past. The political and economic unification of mankind; the changing relations between the individual and society, between parents and children, between the sexes; the development in agriculture and industry; there seems to be nothing missing. When one puts the work aside one really has had a quick but most impressive walk through the landscape of the modern world. If this walk raises as many questions as are answered by it, it is not the fault of the author, who limits himself consciously to a presentation of facts. His method brings them often into an order full of meaning; statistical material otherwise dry and boring becomes unforgettable and exciting.

"Modern Man in the Making" is especially timely today when the ghastly tumult of a world at war drowns out so many voices of reason and objective contemplation. It is at the same time a very comforting work because it reflects a progressive world without indulging in the banal optimistic interpretation of history. Special mention must be made of the excellent and beautiful production of the book by the publisher. The volume will be enjoyed by its readers again and again. One would like to give it to every student who is tortured by learning the facts of this world in the difficult old-fashioned way.

FRANZ HOELLERING

American Legend

AFTER TWELVE YEARS. By Michael A. Musmanno. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

IT IS difficult for those who had any part in the Sacco-Vanzetti case to realize how tragic an American legend that celebrated cause has become. Those who had to do with the defense of the two great-hearted workers, those whose remembrance of the last dark days is still painfully acute, are likely to forget that, as the author of this stirring book puts it, "another generation has come into adulthood since 1927," and "youths to whom Sacco and Vanzetti are headlines are now eager to know why these two names created so much furor."

Michael A. Musmanno, judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Pennsylvania, in writing of those last terrible days in Boston twelve years ago, say in all truth, "all of which I saw, and part of which I was." During the last five months of life of the "good shoemaker and the poor fish peddler" Judge Musmanno came voluntarily as an attorney into the ranks of the defense, and he was in constant touch with the men in their cells in Charlestown Prison until the end. So he has written, not just another book about the case, but rather a memorable, swift-moving account of the whole tragedy, so that readers who were present at some of the scenes described, as well as youngsters to whom the case is now legend, may resolve that never again shall such a judicial murder take place in these United States.

How greatly prejudice against foreigners, especially radicals, entered into every phase of the case is stressed over and again by the author's factual story of the events set in train by the shooting of a paymaster and a guard in South Braintree,

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And Other Articles

ENGLAND'S NEXT PRIME MINISTER
The amazing consistency of Winston Churchill's imperialism. *Esmond Romilly* from close acquaintance interprets his return to power.

•

A NEW PUMP
by A. A. Berle, Jr.

•

3 TENANT FAMILIES
Preview to a literary event: A selection from *James Agee's* forthcoming masterpiece.

•

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE
by Herbert Solow

•

GROUNDS FOR DISGRUNTLEMENT
This deadly serious yet slyly humorous article by *Lancelot Hogben* attempts to determine why the obvious oportunity to achieve "abundance for all" eludes present world leadership.

•

A NEW RADICAL PARTY?
by Max Eastman

•

SWEDEN'S NEUTRALITY
Frank C. Hanighen, our regular foreign correspondent, examines the relationship of peace to the "middle way."

•

COMMON SENSE
315 Fourth Ave. New York

HITLER & WAGNER

by PETER VIERECK

THIS series of articles, we predict, will throw more light on the genesis of the Nazi "ideology" than all the hundreds of economic-political explanations now in circulation. So far as any study of ideas can be, it is "sensational." At the same time it sticks entirely to the facts of Wagner's extraordinary career and the evidence presented in his little-known writings.

In support of his principal contention that Wagner was the spiritual father of Nazism, Mr. Viereck presents the record: —Wagner, the "Volk"—mystic; Wagner, the revolutionary anti-Semite; Wagner, the proclaimer of a German Fuehrer, Siegfried-hero, superman; Wagner, the Francophobe, Medievalist, Romantic Genius—and Madman.

But this is much more than the picture of a famous musician's aberrant intellect. It traces the changes that came over Germany from the time Wagner helped Bakunin organize the Revolution of 1848 to the moment when his disciple Houston Stewart Chamberlain, welcomed the then obscure Hitler to Bayreuth in 1923. It explains, as no other analysis we know, what is in Hitler's mind today.

CONFESSIONS OF A FELLOW TRAVELER

by BURGESS MEREDITH

Confessions of a Fellow Traveler is a new type of Hollywood confession. An inside story of six months as President of Actors Equity—bargaining with Billy Rose, arguing with David Dubinsky, walking the political tightrope between Left and Right—Mr. Meredith wittily describes his evolution as a democrat.

JOHN DOS PASSOS

in two brilliant articles, presents the drama of a double-career revealing a democratic integrity seldom equalled. It was Thomas Paine who gave America's Revolution its popular self-confidence and a common language. Less familiar is the extraordinary role he played in the French Revolution 15 years later.

Read COMMON SENSE

Keep AHEAD of the News — Common Sense's lead article last March was "That Coming Nazi-Soviet Pact." Next month's feature may be quite as indispensable...

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Massachusetts, on a spring day in 1920. His story is "factual," because the facts themselves include crystal-gazing as the prelude to deadly serious accusations against innocent men, the deliberate setting of traps by a prosecution bent upon vengeance rather than justice, the shameful sadism of the presiding judge, and finally the unforgivable betrayal of the judicial process by such supposed representatives of "the respectables" as Governor Fuller of Massachusetts and Albert Lawrence Lowell, the intolerant aristocrat, president of Harvard and head of the commission whose verdict finally sent two guiltless men to the chair. These facts need no fancy writing, no dressing up of any sort.

Musmanno puts them all down in breath-taking manner and then writes, as a postlude, of a trip that he made in the summer of 1938 to the Cape Cod home of Lowell. The intransigent old man still insisted on the guilt of his two victims. For two hours he attempted to persuade Musmanno, of all persons, of the rectitude of his judgment. Finally the defense lawyer left, "sick at heart" as he says, eager to draw in the freshening winds of the sea coming across the Cape, the same winds that used so to lift the heart of the slain Vanzetti.

In these war-darkened days it is well to remember that the two workers were innocent victims of the forces of hatred and prejudice roused by the last war. It detracts nothing from the zeal of the defense to remember also that a more militant and firmly united labor movement might well have saved the men, despite the strength of their implacable persecutors in Massachusetts and elsewhere. For youthful readers Judge Musmanno's narrative, written twelve years after, will serve as a revelation of what the struggle to build such a movement may sometimes involve. For any lover of justice, old or young, it is a tragedy to be reread and remembered.

MC ALISTER COLEMAN

Sterility in the Social Sciences

KNOWLEDGE FOR WHAT? By Robert S. Lynd. Princeton University Press. $2.50.

IT HAS long been evident that there is something fundamentally wrong with our social sciences. With all our vast expenditure of funds on social research, we seem as far from understanding the laws which govern human behavior as before the social sciences were born. Or perhaps it would be fairer to say that, because of the advance in technology, our social, political, and economic problems have multiplied more rapidly than our ability to understand them and bring them under control. A few years ago it was assumed that the answer lay in a more rigid application of scientific methodology. Frantic efforts were made to quantify social and political phenomena in the belief that once they were reduced to inanimate numbers a true scientific analysis could be made.

Dr. Lynd finds the basic cause for the sterility of our social sciences inherent in their most cherished assumptions. He challenges the idea that there can be anything like the "pure sciences" in the field of human relationships, that the scientist who is aloof from the pressures of life can make any significant contribution toward understanding it. Even more hampering, in his opinion, is the high degree of specialization in the social sciences which prevents most scientists from dealing with human problems in their entirety. While he grants that specialization is essential, he stresses the need for greater attention to culture as a whole, viewing it not as an impersonal specimen on a dissecting table but as a living organism.

Nor will Dr. Lynd allow the social scientist to hide behind the pretense of mere fact-finding. The fact-finder, he points out, has to accept, temporarily at least, the basic postulates of a system before he can understand and describe it. The usual result in his "solution" of a problem is a makeshift expedient which does not go to the real source of the difficulty.

If the social sciences are to aid in guiding mankind out of the morass in which it finds itself, Dr. Lynd believes that they must have the imagination and courage to escape from their self-imposed frames of reference. It should, for example, "be a major concern of social science to discover where and how large-scale planning and control need be extended throughout the culture so as to facilitate the human ends of living." Similarly, it is the duty of scientists to find out what kind of economic organization would best serve the masses of the American people? And further, how can a culture be built which would "play down the need for and possibility for war?"

The reviewer is in full sympathy with Dr. Lynd's indictment of the social sciences and his challenge to his fellow-scientists to face the fuller implications of today's problems. The book is definitely one that needed to be written, if only to awaken students to the shallowness of much that passes as scholarship in the field of human relations. But it would be unrealistic to imagine for a moment that social scientists as a group are likely to follow the advice given. Dr. Lynd would be the first to admit that the sterility of which he complains is part of the culture which he would have analyzed. By the very nature of things no man, even the trained scientist, can reach very far beyond the social, political, and economic framework in which he finds himself. But he can make full use of the tools at hand to shape that structure to meet his needs. And that is the real challenge of this book.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Recent Fiction

SAILOR OFF THE BREMEN AND OTHER STORIES. By Irwin Shaw. Random House. $2.

Urbanity with guts, tough stuff with restraint, the blunt iron pen in the well-groomed hand—these are doubtless the qualities that have recommended Irwin Shaw's stories to the *New Yorker* in the last year or two, since that magazine has annexed Avenue A and the Bronx to the domain of Eustace Tilley. Nearly half of the stories in this volume appeared first in the *New Yorker,* and nearly all of the lot are about New York City, some of them suggestive of Jerome Weidman's hard-boiled East Side sketches but usually with a lighter, more blasé touch, even in accounts of poverty and violence. The title story is a gruesome tale of bloody vengeance on West Twelfth Street; Borough of Cemeteries pits

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two drunk and discontented cab drivers in a "chicken fight" in Brooklyn; Weep in Years to Come is only a dialogue between a man and a girl on Fifth Avenue, a talk about war written before the outbreak of the European war, but bitterly topical, every line of it, today. The young man doesn't believe in fighting, doesn't believe that a war will improve things even if Hitler is defeated, yet is ready to go out and start shooting and being shot at to try to kill the idea Hitler represents. There is also a stark tale of a pogrom in Russia during the revolution, with pillage and rape and slaughter, well told from the point of view of a sixteen-year-old boy. Altogether a good solid collection of stories from a very promising young writer, author of the play "Bury the Dead."

THE HOSPITAL. By Kenneth Fearing. Random House. $2.

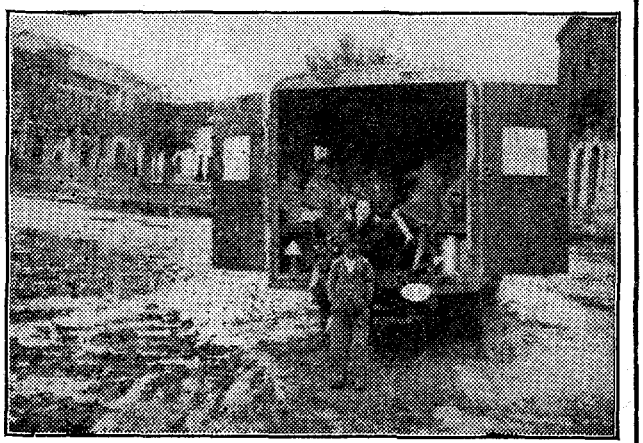
A half-hour in the life of a big New York hospital, a particularly uncomfortable half-hour on a hot summer afternoon, but otherwise a fairly typical one—this is the composite picture which Mr. Fearing presents through the words and thoughts of a dozen or more people: doctors, nurses, engineers, internes, patients. Borrowing the method used by Faulkner in "As I Lay Dying," he simply heads each chapter with the name of the person who is supposed to be talking. Though he ties these pieces together with a slim thread of story, he aims chiefly at a composite picture of an institution that most laymen half fear and half worship, since it represents to them on the one hand pain and suffering and expense and on the other hand those semi-magical forces of science that work miracles on human flesh. Mr. Fearing is concerned with the hospital both as an intricate maze of pipes and conduits and corridors and apparatus, and as an organization of individual men and women, each bearing his own private thoughts and troubles into the highly impersonal clinic and operating room and ward. An unusual choice of subject matter for a poet, but then Mr. Fearing has always been a poet with a strong scientific bent.

DRAMA

Past and Present

IN THE opinion of many, R. C. Sherriff's "Journey's End" was not only the best play about the great war but also the best play on any subject whatsoever to come out of England in many years. It has just been revived for a limited engagement at the Empire Theater, and the curtain had not been up five minutes before I had begun to realize something which I had not even faintly anticipated. Considered purely from the standpoint of a possibly successful artistic effect, the moment chosen for the revival is extraordinarily unfavorable.

I do not mean, God knows, that the subject is not apropos. I mean, on the contrary, that it is too appallingly just that to be anything else. Most of the audience, I am sure, found itself as unable as I was to attend to the play as a play or to care very much how the author remembered the conflict upon



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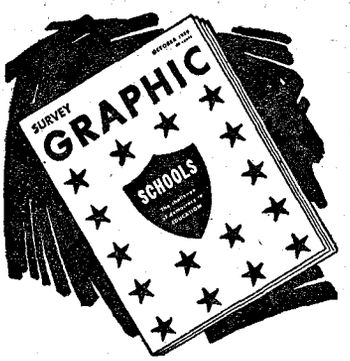

They discuss the warning of our jobless youth—wonders wrought in nursery schools — what we ask of grade and high schools—universities in relation to modern life—adult education—the educationally underprivileged—race discrimination—freedom—the heart of the problem: teachers — propaganda — next steps — what every parent should know.

The caliber of the contributors to this issue suggests the high standard of articles in *every* issue of *Survey Graphic,* the magazine Charles A. Beard "has long regarded as indispensable": E. C. Lindeman, John Chamberlain, Myron M. Stearns, John R. Tunis, Max McConn, Scott Buchman, Alvin Johnson, Farnsworth Crowder, Ordway Tead, William Allan Neilson, K. N. Llewellyn, Carson Ryan and 20 others. Over 50 photographs, charts and drawings supplement the text.

Coming soon in other issues of *Survey Graphic* is a special supplement in which Clyde R. Miller, director of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis presents the discussion of propaganda by Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation,* Howard Dietz, Publicity Director of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Franklin Dunham of NBC and Prof. Harold Lasswell and other spokesmen for radio, press, movies and religion at Williamstown. Also, a continuation of the series on American Cities in Transition including St. Louis by Audrey Granneberg, Santa Barbara by Katherine Glover—an account by S. K. Ratcliff of what America looks like to a British visitor—Ladies and Lynchers by Lewis T. Nordyke—The Impractical Nurse by Edith M. Stern—Charney Vladeck by John Herling and a series on Federal Arts by Henry Alsberg, Hallie Flanagan, Warren Cheney.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER

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which he was looking back. To us war had suddenly ceased to be a past that might be remembered and become a future which could only be feared. Uppermost in nearly everyone's mind must have been what was uppermost in mine. We were not asking ourselves how acceptable the author had succeeded in making his attitude toward the great war of 1914-18. We were wondering how much of its cruelty and terror would have to be endured again in the war of 1939-??.

"Journey's End" was first produced here just ten years ago. There has probably never been any time between the end of the first great war and the present when another conflict on such a scale seemed less imminent. Under those circumstances a play could be written, as even the greatest works of literature have been written, to lay a ghost, to crystallize some attitude toward a past event, and thus to free the memory from the burden of its uneasy preoccupation with an experience which will allow it no rest until some resolution of the emotional conflicts generated has been achieved and accepted. But the ghost is walking again. The resolution no longer resolves anything, and the spectator finds himself busy with his own emotional problems, not with those which Mr. Sherriff is solving.

Doubtless most of those who saw or read the play remember it well enough. It is concerned primarily with three upper-class Englishmen—a schoolmaster, a schoolboy, and a young captain just older than the boy, just younger than the man—who occupy the same dugout and who meet their deaths one after another. All the scenes are deliberately underwritten, the dialogue is conducted almost exclusively in the strange dialect of the public-school Englishman, and the point is simply that the three played the game. There was nothing about war which came natural to them; there was nothing primitive in their natures which found release in the new environment. But they brought into the trenches the psychology as well as the ethics and the idiom of the football field, and it carried them through.

Under the most favorable of circumstances much of the play, effective as it is, must seem exasperating to Americans who have never been able to understand completely the English idealization of the sort of infantilism which leads the youngest of the heroes to feel that "the men" would be keener than ever to die if they only knew that the schoolmaster had once played soccer "for England." But it is not this which makes the play seem so nearly irrelevant in its treatment of a fearfully relevant topic that the spectator finds himself thinking only his own thoughts. It is the fact that the attitude suggested is not emotionally adequate to the present situation. If one is looking back upon a past which seems safely past, it may seem enough to say that the men played the game well and went through death as well as agonizing anticipation of it without yielding an inch. They remained essentially what they were before they found themselves in a world totally alien to everything in their natures. But this is not enough to say to a world which sees in the scenes of the play, not an image of the past, but an image of what is all too probably the future. I am not, let me add, attempting to say that "Journey's End" seems unsatisfactory at the moment because it does not take clearly enough some intellectual stand, because it preaches no social or political doctrine in unmistakable terms. I am assuming that the sole

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aim of such a play may legitimately be to find a way of looking at events which will render them emotionally tolerable. I am saying only that "Journey's End" is inevitably "dated" by the simple fact that it is addressed to an audience which remembers a war, not to an audience which, willy-nilly, is thinking of a war that may come.

The present production is offered as the first of a series of revivals and is scheduled to close September 30, to be followed by "They Knew What They Wanted." "Journey's End" is admirably acted by Colin Keith-Johnston, Reginald Mason, and Glenn Hunter, and is given a production in which there is no sign of skimping. If subsequent plays are anything like so well done, the series should be very much worth following. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

MUSIC

SEVERAL of the sessions of the International Congress of the American Musicological Society were solely for the amusement of the scholars themselves, with subjects like "Dissonance in Early Polyphony up to Tinctoris," "The English Broadside Ballad of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," "Venetian Folksongs of the Renaissance." Not that this sort of thing is without its value for the rest of us. Thus the Haydn symphonies that were played here last season for the first time by the New Friends of Music Orchestra were played from scores made by Alfred Einstein from manuscripts of parts; and in large measure his task was to decide, where there were several copies or even only one, what was authentically Haydn's and what had been added or changed by someone else—a task which required a musicologist's knowledge of the minutiae of Haydn's style of writing.

Subjects like "Art Music Versus Folk Music" and "African Influence on North American Indian Music" came within the layman's range of interest. And Otto Ortman's talk on "The Psychology of Tone Quality," if it presented the material in his books on piano tone, had enormous practical importance for hundreds of thousands of persons; for the findings of those two books, "The Physical Basis for Piano Touch and Tone" and "The Physiological Mechanics of Piano Technique"—which for ten years or so, ever since they first appeared, I have been planning to summarize in an article—have enough explosive force to blow up most of the teaching of piano that is done in this country and elsewhere.

And finally the interest of the general public, in addition to that of the scholar, was claimed by several concerts. I attended only one of medieval music and one of unpublished music by Handel—or rather only the first half of each. For at the first concert I did not find the music sung by Yves Tinayre or his singing of it interesting enough to wait for the second appearance of the superb little chorus from the Pius X School of Liturgical Music. This chorus opened the concert with a group of one Ambrosian and several Gregorian chants, which it sang with beautiful tone and wonderfully expressive inflections; but my intense enjoyment was disturbed by the organ accompaniments; and I hasten to add that I was disturbed not as a scholar activated by something

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Story of a Tri-State Diggin's

By

L. S. Davidson

The tri-state lead mining district of Kansas, Missouri, and Oklahoma, populated almost 100 percent by native American stock, is the scene of our most brutal labor war. Ever since the discovery of its rich veins of ore, the region has been marked by poverty and conflict commingled with human qualities that give it an individuality all its own. Here is a stirring and human story of this little-known section, "a strange personal history, as dramatic as any novel. What distinguishes it is its rootedness in the soil. These are Mrs. Davidson's own people. They ring true."—*Lewis Gannett, N. Y. Herald Tribune.* Illustrated with photographs by Sheldon Dick. $2.75

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By

Corrington Gill

Assistant Administrator, W. P. A.

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I knew, but as a musician reacting to what I heard. It was not that I knew the chants had come into existence as melody without a harmonic basis, music that created its musical sense solely by the relations of single sounds in succession; it was that I heard this sense blotted out by the sense which was imparted to the sounds by the sustained modern harmonies from the organ. As for the music I heard at the Handel concert, much of it turned out to be the youthful Handel's exercises in styles of the period, with no other discoverable point at the concert than to provide occasions for voluminous displays of musicological scholarship about manuscript sources and stylistic derivations in the program notes.

The programs announced by the New Friends of Music promise some dull moments along with the interesting ones. Dull moments are inevitable if one sets out to investigate unswervingly *all* the piano trios or *all* the quintets of Mozart or Beethoven; and one may feel that such an investigation is something a person should go through with at least once in his musical life, or one may feel that the investigating should be done by the New Friends beforehand, and that only the interesting works should be presented at the concerts—the difficulty then being that the New Friends has given no evidence until now of being able to tell a significant work of Mozart or Beethoven from an insignificant one. In the present instance, from the composers announced last spring—Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms—the New Friends has dropped Schubert, and with him three of the greatest works in the chamber-music literature—the C major String Quintet and the two great Piano Trios. And instead, to all the quintets and piano trios of the remaining three composers, it has added Beethoven's Clarinet Trio Opus 11 and Flute Trio Opus 25, and three of Mozart's Divertimentos for strings and winds, a Serenade for winds, two Duos for violin and viola, and—for no apparent reason—"Eine kleine Nachtmusik." Perhaps these represent a discriminating selection from the countless run-of-the-mill products of fluent and busy craftsmen; but I suspect the occasions for further boredom will be more numerous than the occasions for delighted surprise.

As usual there are to be performances by groups ranging from the Budapest Quartet, the Busch-Serkin Trio, the Griller Quartet, downward through some that are inferior to some that are terrible. But the New Friends shows its worst ineptitude in arranging for performances of the numerous trios. It is using the Busch-Serkin Trio for only one concert, the Trio of New York for two; and for the rest, instead of making skilful combinations of solo players, it is using parts of quartets. Thus the superlative Budapest Quartet is announced for three concerts; but at one of them two of its members will combine with Mischa Levitzki to play Beethoven's Trios Opus 1, Nos. 1 and 2; at another they will combine with Frances Blaisdell to play Beethoven's Flute Trio Opus 25, and three will play his String Trio Opus 9, No. 1; and meanwhile Mozart's great G minor Quintet will be played by the Pro Arte Quartet, and his great C major Quintet by the Philharmonic-Symphony Quartet. In the same way, the Busch-Serkin Trio is engaged for one concert, but Beethoven's great Trio Opus 97 is to be done by Hortense Monath with two members of the Pro Arte Quartet. And so on, with similar lack of sense.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Rumanian Anti-Semitism

Dear Sirs: I was rather surprised, in fact dismayed, to read Jonathan Griffin's article, Will Rumania Fight? in *The Nation* for September 16. Referring to Rumanian anti-Semitism, he states that "the part played by the Jews in helping the German occupation of 1917 and 1918 intensified it." Now this is one of the standard anti-Semitic fabrications current in Rumania, comparable to "Jewish Bolshevism" or "Jewish international bankers" here. Long before Rumania entered the war the government began to remove Jews from the frontier with Hungary. There was no more reason for doing it than for Poland to remove Jews from its frontiers in 1939. Rumania at the time was flooded with czarist anti-Semitic agents and in this withdrawal was following in Russia's footsteps. The barbaric acts which Rumania perpetrated against a peaceful and loyal Jewish population were fully revealed at the Peace Conference. Jews were again made the scapegoats for other ills, the excuse that time being that they "helped the German occupation."

Rumania's action then was but part of its traditional anti-Semitic policy, which did not spare even the 30,000 Jewish soldiers in the Rumanian army, who were accused of all sorts of crimes. Rumania's entrance into the war only increased its anti-Semitism; the current comment at the time was that it was so busy fighting the Jews it had no time for fighting the enemy. Incidentally, there was a greater proportion of Jews in the army in 1914 than there were Jews in Rumania's total population. You can find complete details on this point in "Die Judenpolitik der rumanischen Regierung," by Dr. S. Bernstein, published by the Bureau of the Zionist Organization in Copenhagen in 1918.

Griffin then refers to a post-war period of fifteen years "during which time the Jews gained control of about half the country's commerce and industry." That is one of those unfortunate, sweeping statements that are completely misleading. It is true that the Jews are engaged in commerce and industry. But it was precisely the Jews in Rumania who built up that country's commerce and industry. When Rumania incorporated additional territory after the war, it incorporated a large Jewish population from Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia who brought with them a commerce and industry which Rumania never previously possessed. It is futile to walk through the streets of Bucharest and say, "All these shops, factories, etc. belong to Jews," if the majority of them would not exist without the Jews; just as futile as to say, "These Jews have come in and taken the garment industry away from us New Yorkers." In any case, the economic status of the Rumanian Jews, like that of the Jews in other Eastern European countries, is the result of a long and familiar historical process, the result of constant persecution, migration, and restriction to particular spheres rather than to undue opportunism during the war.

T. V. BRENDEL

New York, September 21

Challenge from Mr. Farrell

Dear Sirs: Until the signing of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact the editors of *The Nation* were in agreement with the foreign policy advocated by the Stalinists, that of collective security and the formation of a peace front which should include the Soviet Union. Many of the contributors to your magazine were Stalinists. The editor of *The Nation,* Freda Kirchwey, wrote under her own signature advocating collaboration with the Stalinists and attacking non-Stalinists to the left of center who refused this collaboration. *The Nation* did not take a clear line in considering the Moscow trials and gave no support to those who fought them in this country. One of the editors at the time, Max Lerner, publically defended them. Likewise, *The Nation* rejected the criticisms and revelations of anti-Stalinists concerning the conduct of the Stalinist movement in Spain. It even publicly refused to accept the known fact that Andrés Nin, leader of the P. O. U. M., had been murdered. These are only a few of the main points of the pro-Stalinist policies which your magazine has pursued in recent years.

It is insufficient for *The Nation* now to remove itself from the Stalinist orbit by showing a sudden moral indignation. It is necessary now to explain and to assimilate any change of orientation which you may adopt. Otherwise, how can you expect any intelligent reader to take your magazine seriously? Also it is more than appropriate to reopen questions which you have closed or ignored. Now is the time to reopen the question of the Moscow trials. Now is the time to reopen and to study anew questions connected with the Spanish War. Does your magazine dare to do this? Or are you going to make the assumption that memories are short, and that your record will be forgotten?

JAMES T. FARRELL

New York, September 21

[Without agreeing to undertake the multiplicity of jobs Mr. Farrell offers us, we are glad to accept his main challenge. Our position is accurately stated in his first sentence. We agreed with Stalin, in other words, as long as he agreed with us. When he shifted sides, we stayed put. This does not represent any "change of orientation" but the contrary. We have therefore nothing to "explain"; but Stalin must explain, in more intelligible terms than his followers have yet discovered, his repudiation of a policy upheld by his government from the time Russia joined the League of Nations until Litvinov was dismissed from his post of Foreign Minister. We shall only add that *The Nation* strongly and clearly attacked the Soviet trials, and refer Mr. Farrell to our issue of March 12, 1938.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Indian Congress Cleansed

Dear Sirs: A recent amendment to the constitution of the Indian National Congress, designed to cleanse that body of the corruption that had crept into it, is of considerable importance.

The Congress occupies a unique position in Indian public life. Its membership, which is in the neighborhood of five million, is claimed by its general secretary to be larger than that of any other political organization in the world. Since the Congress decided to take office under the new reforms two years ago, its importance has been considerably enhanced. Its nominees became government ministers in eight of eleven provinces in British India. Many persons then saw tangible advantage in active association with the Congress. By getting elected to the various Congress commit-

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tees they hoped to exert a measure of influence over the ministries and thereby feather their own nests.

It was this aspect of the growth of the Congress which brought to the fore the question of internal reform. No workable standards could be set up to measure the admissibility of new members so as to exclude persons described variously as careerists, arrivists, adventurers, and opportunists. Numerous formulas were suggested to secure this object, but none were found to combine the requisite measure of practicability with conformity to democratic principles. Attention was therefore concentrated on protecting places of power within the Congress from the greed of the new elements. To this end the Constitution Committee decided that offices and elective posts in the organization should be open only to those who had faithfully adhered to the policies and programs of the Congress for at least three years. By this means the leaders hope to keep control of the machine from self-seekers and new, unscrupulous men.

The changes affecting the primary membership include a permanent Congress register, which undoubtedly is a great improvement on the existing practice. It may be a hardship to a member to travel to district headquarters once a year to sign his name or put a mark on the register, but there is probably no other way of preventing the inrush of bogus members. It does not, however, insure that each member will pay his own four-*anna* bit (dime). "Corruption" is hard to fight and it will not be easy to abolish the control of the local caucuses over masses of primary members.

As a voluntary organization whose appeal to the loyalty of its supporters has lain in its record of national service, the Congress has in the past attracted the best elements in the country. "It has been singularly free," the *Hindu* (Madras) points out, "from the incursions of undesirables—Tammany bosses, carpet-baggers, and other politicians on the make, who are the pests of politics elsewhere. But it is well to recognize that with the advent of Congressmen to power in the majority of Indian provinces the temptation to enlist under the Congress flag for self-aggrandizement has become greater."

Gandhi's occasional denunciations of corruption in the Congress have impressed the outside world with the high moral standard set before the rank and file. A few purges now and then of some satellites for not speaking the truth or for not acting in the spirit of *ahimsa* (nonviolence), the creed of the Congress, have also had propaganda value.

B. K. SINHA

London, England, August 20

Give Mexicans the Facts!

Dear Sirs: In his article on Mexico in *The Nation* of September 9 Waldo Frank mentions a conversation with General Miaja in which Miaja told of the fatal mistake of those Spanish soldiers who thought they were defending the republic when they joined Franco. He added that "the majority of [Mexican] citizens, whether civil or military, will make the right decision [in the coming election] *provided they know the facts.*"

Even if a large proportion of the Mexican people do not know how to read, in this day of radio and motion pictures would it not be possible to get the facts to them?

In the screen section of the New York *Times* of September 10 a visiting Indian film journalist, Baburis Patel, editor of the magazine *Filmindia,* mentioned "500 touring talkies." These he described as "motor buses equipped with sound-recording machines and other paraphernalia, which tour the villages."

Is there time before the election to get a similar project under way in Mexico? With the Hollywood industry so strongly anti-fascist it seems as if it would be glad to cooperate. If these buses were also equipped with radios, Cárdenas and trusted officials might talk directly to all the people through them.

FRANCES S. BOULTON

Brooklyn, N. Y., September 16

Accurate Irony

Dear Sirs: Considering the character and background of the present Prime Minister of Great Britain and of those who preceded him over a century and a half, many of us are impelled to realize that *"plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose."* I have recently come across a description of Lord Liverpool by the late Lord Acton, which, with a few names and events changed, might well have appeared in an editorial in *The Nation.* It is quoted by his editors in the introduction to Lord Acton's "History of Freedom and other essays."

Lord Liverpool governed England in the greatest crisis of the war, and for twelve troubled years of peace, chosen not by the nation, but by the owners of the land. The English gentry were well content with an order of things by which for a century and a quarter they had enjoyed so much prosperity and power. Desiring no change they wished for no ideas. They sympathized with the complacent respectability of Lord Liverpool's character, and knew how to value the safe sterility of his mind. . . . His mediocrity was his merit. The secret of his policy was that he had none.

It would be hard to improve on what his editors call Lord Acton's "austere and accurate irony."

RICHARD W. B. LEWIS

Shoreham, N. Y., September 10

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